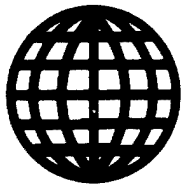


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PAKISTAN

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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

U.S. Criticized for Improving Relations With India

92AS1256D Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Jun 92 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan: "America Is Going Crazy in Its Love for India"]

[Text] A U.S. State Department spokesman has warned Pakistan not to help the groups in occupied Kashmir that are involved in terrorist activities. Otherwise, he threatened, Pakistan will be included in the list of countries labeled as proterrorist nations. Mr. Akram Zaki, secretary general of Pakistan's foreign ministry, replied that Pakistan openly opposes terrorism, while India is encouraging terrorism in Pakistan.

Many American politicians are very interested in the Kashmir campaign. They have always tried to imply in their statements that they support the Kashmiri people's campaign for self-government. However, Mr. James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, issued a communique reflecting the negative attitude of the United States. In this communique, it is clear that some political parties in India-occupied Kashmir are involved in terrorist activities, and the U.S. Government does not want Pakistan to support them. However, the fact is that the freedom-fighting groups of occupied Kashmir are active, and they want independence for Kashmiri people, according to the resolution passed in the United Nations. During the last 44 years, they tried to let the world know through their actions that the people of Kashmir are not willing to spend their lives as slaves of India.

After the independence of the subcontinent, it was decided by mutual agreement that Muslim-majority areas would join Pakistan, and that states would decide individually whether they wanted to join India or Pakistan. In states like Hyderabad and Juna Garh, which decided to join Pakistan, they were forcibly occupied by India. Kashmir was also a Muslim-majority state opposed to joining India. The people of Kashmir did not accept the decision of the kings of Kashmir, and they started a campaign to join Pakistan. Because of this campaign, a war between Pakistan and India was started. One reason for this war was that India had ignored the decision of the Hyderabad and Juna Garh kings, opening this option for Pakistan. In addition, the people of Kashmir had taken up arms for their independence. Anyhow, the United Nations interfered to stop the war in Kashmir. The Security Council later decided that Jammu and Kashmir was a contested area. It was also decided that a referendum be taken to learn whether the people of the region wanted to join India or Pakistan. Pakistan and many other countries, including India, accepted this resolution. Later, India changed its mind and refused to hold the referendum. It declared Jammu and Kashmir an integral part of India. In spite of its drama, it did not succeed in making Kashmir a part of

India. Even in the Indian Constitution, Kashmir's position is different than those of other Indian states. This situation has developed because, according to UN regulations, Kashmir has been declared a contested area. This means that India still recognizes this resolution; however, it is behaving stubbornly and is not willing to hold a referendum.

The people of Kashmir repeatedly started campaigns to become independent. They sacrificed a lot of lives and property, and because of Kashmir, there have been three wars between India and Pakistan. The whole world knows this fact. The truth is not hidden from anyone that the Indian political administration of occupied Kashmir has become totally useless. Foreign tourists have been banned from Kashmir and the whole area has been occupied by the military. The soldiers are busy with murders and destruction. There have been several incidents of mass rape. Even children have been murdered. They have killed many people by subjecting them to torture. The freedom fighters are given protection so that their homes can be burned. Muslims are not permitted to worship even during Id and on Fridays.

Internationally known human rights advocates have expressed serious concern about the situation in occupied Kashmir. They decided to send a representative to obtain detailed information in Sri Nagar. However, the Indian Government did not give them permission to do so. The U.S. Government cannot be ignorant of this situation. Still, the U.S. secretary of state knowing all these facts, thought it necessary to warn Pakistan that it should not support the groups in Kashmir that are involved in terrorism. Can the people who are struggling for their freedom be called terrorists?

The freedom fighters in Kashmir hoped that the United States, just like Islamic and nonaligned European countries who believe in truth and justice, would support them in their effort. They hoped that they would use their influence to help them get their rights and take the necessary steps to stop India from the genocide of innocent Kashmiris. Instead, the U.S. secretary of state sent a letter to Pakistan that showed that the United States wanted to support India the same way it is supporting Israel, and that it has no interest in stopping India's suppression the human rights of Kashmiris. If Mr. James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, has a hobby of writing letters, then he should have written to India's foreign minister and told him to stop suppressing the human rights of Kashmiris and allow international human rights agencies to visit Sri Nagar. Israel is committing barbaric acts in occupied Arab areas. Palestinian freedom fighters are also being murdered and arrested. The U.S. Government, however, cannot see Israeli terrorism. It is happy with declaring freedom fighters and Palestinians of occupied areas the terrorists. It has adopted a similar policy on Kashmir and has declared the people who express their right to freedom as terrorist. However, with this kind of politics, it cannot throw dust in the eyes of the whole world. It is possible that the United States has won India's heart with its magic of the

new world order. However, it will be deprived of its influence in Pakistan and other Islamic countries, as well as nations that support justice.

The United States is not the only country with eyes and ears. Great Britain, China, France, Japan, Germany, Russia, and other countries had resources to collect information. However, with the exception of the United States of America and India, no other countries have accused that some groups are involved in terrorist activities in Kashmir. Only the U.S. Government liked the idea of joining India and singing the same song with it, so that it could send a written warning to Pakistan to stop helping the terrorists of occupied Kashmir.

This U.S. action is hard to understand for any independent country, especially Pakistan. On one hand, it calls Pakistan its friend and expresses a desire to improve relations with it. At the same time, it is going crazy with love for India. This does not help Pakistan.

If the United States wants to make India one of its markets or wants Indian support in its achievement of its political goals, then it is the affair of India and the United States. Pakistan will not worry that the United States and India are increasing their military cooperation or that they are improving their political and economic relations. We are interested only in our own political and economic interests. We cannot sacrifice them to please the United States of America or any other country. If the United States wants to throw dirt at us in order to please India and wants to start using various tactics to hurt the Kashmiris, then the people of Pakistan will not remain silent spectators.

The former Soviet Union had repeatedly accused Pakistan of fighting the U.S. war in Afghanistan and that the United States was providing weapons to the terrorists in Pakistan. During that time, the U.S. secretary of state did not write any letters to Pakistan telling us not to provide any kind of support to the Afghan mujahedin or refugees. During the era of former Afghan President Najibollah, instigators from Afghanistan used to come to Pakistan. They were responsible for the deaths of hundreds of people. However, the U.S. Government did not send a warning letter to the Afghanistan government. The Pakistan Government has repeatedly announced that India sends trained instigators to Pakistan to spread terrorism. They kill many people and cause a lot of damage. However, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker never bothered to write any letters to the Indian Government. He fully believed the Indian accusation that Pakistan was helping groups in occupied Kashmir that were involved in terrorist activity. In addition, he also threatened to list Pakistan as a country that supported terrorism.

The United States accused Libya of this crime and imposed economic restrictions on it because it was not willing to put its terrorists into the custody of the United States. However, it is not willing to look into Israel's terrorist activity, and it has denied India's request for

sending the owner of an American company for legal action in New Delhi. A leak in poisonous gas from this company's plant resulted in the death of hundreds of people in Bhopal.

After the attack on Kuwait, the United Nations passed a resolution against Iraq, and the United States of America implemented this resolution by totally destroying Iraq with the help of its allies. It succeeded in throwing the Iraqi armed forces out of Kuwait. There are resolutions in the United Nations about Kashmir and Palestine. However, the United States and the United Nations have no idea how to implement them. Such a policy, filled of prejudices, does not make anyone great. Instead, it only turns them into the biggest devil of all.

Government Urged To Mend Relations With U.S. *92ASI256C Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Jun 92 p 3*

[Editorial: "Renewal of American Aid and Pakistan"]

[Text] According to a news report, the "Audit" [as published] committee of the U.S. Congress has approved a bill to reinstate aid to Pakistan and ignore the Pressler Amendment. It has made it possible for President Bush to repeal the amendment by 30 September 1992. Even though this news has been received by foreign sources, it tells us that in spite of the present stalemate in U.S.-Pakistani relations, there is a possibility of reinstatement of aid to Pakistan if efforts are made at political and diplomatic fronts. Pakistan should take advantage of this opportunity, explain its stand to the U.S. Government, and accelerate its efforts to have U.S. aid reinstated. The history of U.S.-Pakistani relations is full of ups and downs; however, there was never a time when the pro-Pakistan lobby in the United States was totally inactive. A few days ago, President Bush himself announced that he did not want to accuse Pakistan of anything, and that he wished to improve relations with it. We hope that our government and other people in power will accelerate their efforts to improve relations between Pakistan and the United States of America.

Editorial Praises Chinese Delivery of Nuclear Plant

92ASI256B Karachi JANG in Urdu 29 Jun 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Delivery of Chinese Nuclear Plant"]

[Text] The Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency has approved a Chinese-Pakistani agreement, according to which China is to provide Pakistan with a 300,000-kilowatt nuclear power plant. According to this agreement, Pakistan must use the power plant imported from China, as well as other nuclear fuels, for peaceful purposes. In addition, it is to open its plant for international monitoring. When Pakistan agreed with China to purchase this nuclear power plant, it clearly hinted that it would use the plant to remove the country's energy shortage. In this context, it would be willing to accept all kinds of international

safeguards. However, the Jewish and Hindu lobby spread unfounded rumors about this deal and paved the way for anti-Pakistan propaganda. But Pakistan stood firm on its principles of truth, and now the Internal Atomic Energy Agency has approved the agreement. This has removed the negative propaganda of our enemies and, at the same time, proved that Pakistan was right. We expect that Pakistan will take advantage of this success and will start negotiations with other countries with more confidence in order to fight our nation's energy shortage. We also hope that it will keep in mind the plans to build nuclear power plants locally, because this will allow Pakistan to reduce its dependency on other countries. One day, it will be able to achieve independence in the area of energy production.

Internal Affairs

Punjabis, Pakhtoons Arrested in Simultaneous Raids

92AS1167E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
1 Jul 92 p 12

[Article by Suleman Raja]

[Text] Karachi, June 30—In an early morning swoop several offices of Punjabi-Pakhtoon Ittehad [PPI] in different parts of the Sindh capital were raided by the members of the law-enforcing agencies. Vital records were seized and the offices were sealed.

The raids were conducted simultaneously. A number of PPI activists were also picked up during these raids. However, the persons on the most wanted list remained untraceable.

A senior official of one of the federal agencies involved in the ongoing operation clean-up revealed that they had information that PPI had also allegedly set-up torture cells. But no such cell was unearthed so far.

He said most of the PPI offices were functioning under cover. It was, therefore, difficult to locate all of them. Some of their offices, he added, were located in car showrooms, estate agency offices and many of them were traced while there were still many more which would be raided once information was received about them.

Raids also continued to track down the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] activists who have also gone underground to escape arrest.

Meanwhile, MQM-backed MNA [Member of National Assembly] Kanwar Khalid Younus was picked up by the members of the law-enforcing agency from North Nazimabad on Monday.

According to sources, he was arrested in connection with a murder case.

The Mayor of Karachi, Dr Farooq Sattar, has complained that one of his attendants, namely Javed, was

kidnapped allegedly by the supporters of the dissident group from his house located in the PIB Colony.

However, the New Town police when contacted informed that they had no information about any such incident and till Tuesday afternoon no report about the incident had been reported.

The police continued to register cases against the top leadership of the MQM on the complaints of individuals.

The complaints were mostly of torture, kidnapping, extortion, and rape. The Karachi police also picked up several criminals from different parts.

According to APP, Curfew would be relaxed from 5 am to 10 pm in all the curfew-bound areas of Karachi tomorrow.

ARMS LICENCE: A high-level inquiry has been ordered into the issuance of thousands of arms licences to different persons in the troubled Sindh province during the last few years.

Highly placed sources, while talking to *THE MUSLIM*, further revealed that thousands of arms licences including those of prohibited bore were issued by the Sindh-based MNAs.

Meanwhile, according to federal agency sources, they have seized a large number of "blank forms of arms licences" from the MQM office located at Al-Karam Square which is also popularly known as No 89.

It was revealed that these seized forms were signed by various competent authorities but there was no mention of any names of any individual and as such they were blank.

Sources pointed out that there existed a possibility that after the completion of inquiry, several arm licences issued to different persons would be cancelled.

Articles Condemn Massacre of Civilians in Bahawal

Media Denied Access

92AS1116A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
12 Jun 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Bahawal Deaths May Neither Be the First, Nor Last"]

[Text] In our very first editorial comment when it began to appear that the Eighth Amendment President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and his Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had choked up all their options and resort to some form of military action was all they could think of, we had emphasised the imperative need of keeping everything above board and open to public view. It was emphasised in unmistakable terms that the wise would learn from the horrendous blunders of the East Pakistan debacle.

Although the legal status of the Tando Bahawal blood-dripping episode is unclear and comment on it inadvisable, it can still be said there has been an inexcusable failure of public relations. It might well turn out that the most embarrassed figure to emerge from the Tando Bahawal mishap would be none but the Prime Minister himself, whom our incorrigibly squint-eye PTV [Pakistan TV] has left audio-visually committed to a claim now universally questioned and subject of judicial scrutiny.

Thanks to a run of martial regimes in the country, most of the institutions which support the structure of a credible, efficient and stable democratic culture have been eroded or exterminated in all but name. There is no great point, nor does it serve any public purpose, to mince words. The head of the state and the leader of the government in Pakistan today have had a vast deal more to do with unrepresentative polity than with responsible and hence open government. For the authorities openness of government is still very much an anathema, a nuisance which is not even necessary. But sadly for our rulers of outdated proclivities, the world has passed them by. They simply have to realise that the kind of operation set in motion (in what appears to many enlightened citizens as less than fully supported by legal formalities) in Sindh will be hard to carry to its consummation in camera. The public eyes cannot be kept shut, that is, the news media cannot be barred out with total impunity. Had the authorities now in command in Sindh given due thought to the risks of undue secrecy, the Bahawal embarrassment could well have been avoided.

For the intelligent, even errors can be useful—as warnings. Let the army command set up its public relations outfit to ensure virtually minute to minute briefing of the media. In major operations, media reps. should be kept as close to the action as is compatible with considerations of security and operational efficiency. The politics of Sindh has an abominably dehumanised culture. The situation the Army now finds on its hands is the unhappy hang-up of Sindh's history. The short but hideous Jam Sadiq Era added blood and bitterness to the traditional cauldron of depravity. The army owes it to its good name to steer clear of this legacy of muck and mire. The Bahawal case should be taken as a warning, and perhaps the last one in this present round of operation. Let open-eyed media people and conscientious political elements, however difficult to come by, be the guides of the army commanders. They must steer scrupulously clear of the snares of the guileful vaderas and erstwhile power brokers. Some of them have actually been holders of some of the highest offices and wielders of virtually unquestionable power.

Finally, the army commanders must leave no officer in any doubt that if anyone of them was found with tainted hands, there would be no mercy. The people would also like to trust that the Bahawal inquiry would not go the way the Islampura (Lahore) or Sheikhpura massacres or the Ojhri Camp or Nowshera ordnance blasts.

Opposition Parties Protest

92AS1116B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
10 Jun 92 p 10

[Article by S.M. Waseem: "Jamshoro Killings Condemned"]

[Text] Hyderabad, June 9: The Jeay Sindh Tarraqi Passand Party [JSTPP] observed black day Tuesday to protest against the killings of nine villagers of Goth Tando Bhawal in an alleged encounter with the law enforcement agencies on the bank of Indus river near Jamshoro Friday night.

"Ghaibana namaz-e-Janaza" for the departed souls was offered in Nasim Nagar Park.

Addressing the gathering the JSTPP leaders strongly condemned the gruesome murders of the villagers and demanded immediate apprehension of and exemplary punishment for the real culprits.

Meanwhile, the knowledgeable sources disclosed that the main suspects in the case, Ghulam Mohiuddin and his close relative who had allegedly masterminded the gruesome murder of the villagers had been rounded up. However, the authorities are maintaining discreet silence over the entire issue and not a single press note or handout has so far been issued to this effect confusing the matter further.

There is also no information about the tenth person Muhammad Usman who had received fatal injuries and was admitted to CMH [Combined Military Hospital], the only survival of the tragic incident and a prime witness. Conflicting reports have been published about him and even telecast on the electronic media about his death.

No person in authority has so far either confirmed or denied his death. No journalist was allowed to enter the CMH to verify the facts.

The Central President Sindh Peoples Students Federation [SPSF] Mazhar Baloch and General Secretary Ghulam Sarwar Abro also strongly condemned the killing of ten innocent villagers of Tando Bhawal and said the army operation against terrorists, dacoits and other criminals was in fact against the innocent Sindh people which was evident from the fact of the brutal murder of these innocent villagers.

In a statement they called upon the democratic, progressive and nationalist forces to protest against the gruesome murder of innocent Sindh Haris by celebrating Eid with sobriety and simplicity and hoisting black flags.

The SPSF leaders demanded immediate release of all political prisoners and the arrest of all those government functionaries who were involved in the tragic incident.

Meanwhile, the divisional Chief, Jamaate-Islami [JI] and former MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] Sindh Abdul Waheed Qureshi has denounced the killing of

nine villagers in a fake encounter and said that such incidents would jeopardise the credibility and effectiveness of the operation clean up in Sindh.

In a statement he demanded immediate judicial inquiry into the gruesome murder of the villagers thereby to expose the real culprits and to ensure that no innocent person would be killed and implicated into cooked up cases in future.

The JI leader maintained if the people were not acquainted with the factual position of the ghastly incident, they would lose their confidence in the law enforcement agencies.

The National Peoples Party which met here Tuesday with its divisional organiser Muhammad Afzal Gujjar in the chair also condemned the killing of villagers of Goth Tando Bhawal in strong terms and demanded juridical inquiry into the murder. The meeting also demanded to apprise the people of the facts of the disgusted incident.

The Jamshoori Tehrik leader Jam Saqui, President Democratic Students Federation Wahab Pandhrani, Secretary General Communist Party of Pakistan comrade Imam Ali Nazish and Central Committee member Shabbir Solangi and Chairman Sindhi Qoumi Sath Ms. Fehmida Qureshi have also condemned the alleged murder of innocent villagers.

Failure of Responsibility

92AS1116C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
10 Jun 92 p 6

[Editorial: "We Cannot Afford To Err in Sindh Operations"; italicized words as published]

[Text] In a situation at once so awfully sensitive and momentous as the operation to restore law and order in Sindh, none of the several agencies involved can be too cautious. The experience of the past few days leaves us all with one very awesome lesson: that the consequences of errors of judgement can be transcendently embarrassing and also painfully wounding. There is hardly any escape from the fact that already we have had some misfires all possibilities of which should have been prevented by advanced planning. Evidently this was not done, or not enough was done to make assurance double sure. The House of the Pir of Hala was raided, apparently by some over zealous operator. Now it is realised that the action was probably excessive, if not altogether misconceived, even unauthorised. Vague reports are afloat to shrug the *faux pas* away, saying it was a misunderstanding. So, well it might have been. Then, one saw the confusion over the arrest of an MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] student activist. The stories given out at the time of the arrest were bizarre; the explanation now available for the release of the arrested student would seem to border on the weird.

Capping it all is the conflicting versions of the incident which has left nine (some reports say ten) dead in village

Tando Bilawal Goth, not far from Sindh's second largest town Hyderabad. The first official account said the nine (or ten) killed in an encounter with law enforcing agencies were terrorists, armed and trained by Indians. Then there was confusion whether they were dacoits or terrorists. As the story has developed, of the many versions the one which seems to be gaining increasing credibility is that the victims of this misunderstanding were in fact ordinary, poor *haris* (farm labourers) who were killed in a dispute over land. As if this was not eerie enough, involvement of officers of law enforcing agencies is also being confidently alleged by the people of the village. Foreign news media, not particularly considerate to Pakistan, are having a great time of it. The end product of all this is that the face of Pakistan is getting more and more bruised in the eyes of the world. Whether or not Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his administrators and commanders in Sindh are conscious of this injury to the prestige of Pakistan is not easy to say. There is no reliable indication that they are. This only adds to the anguish of the sensitive citizen.

The Prime Minister has repeatedly asserted that the operation in Sindh would be scrupulously above board. He certainly means what he says. But good intentions and noble words do not add up to much in the kind of situation Sindh finds itself plunged in. The Tando Bilawal Goth episode should never have occurred if the authorities concerned had the vision to be wise before—and not after—the event. Both civil and military authorities, at both the provincial and federal levels, must make every human effort to come clean. Their failure to do so at this stage could be unaffordably expensive for the Nawaz Sharif administration. He is on trial not only at home but at the bar of world opinion. It is a small world now. Besides, he is just about to embark on a highly significant tour abroad. He cannot expect to be greeted by enthusiastically admiring news media people abroad. Going by the contemporary trend of world opinion, infringement of democratic norms and abuses of universally recognised human rights invite nothing but scalding protests and intense distaste.

How are we to deal with these situations? Let's be rational and practical. The mistakes which might have already been made need to be rectified, their victims duly and promptly compensated with a big heart. These serious errors of judgements should be followed up by corrective action. First, those responsible be dealt with sternly but strictly in accordance with rules and regulations. No need to over-react in the present Sindh environment it is of the highest importance to keep the law enforcing agencies in the strictest quarantine from the local landed sharks. More than half of the curse the people of Sindh have been under for centuries are these blood-sucking leeches. They are pastmasters in the evil tricks of sucking public servants into their vile webs. And this may just be the case about the Tando Bilawal Goth's highly compromising sequel.

It seems to us that what the authorities now engaged in the operations in Sindh, failed to do as part of their

preparatory drill was to, as Socrates would have said, "define your terms." Apparently, they do not know how to tell a terrorist from a dacoit, or a harmless peasant. If these are the real targets of the military operations, or that of the other law enforcing agencies, the governments should have spelled out the definitions before the terms of engagement were worked out. Quite frankly, we on our part are not awfully clear on this point. There must be a great deal of legal fine tuning involved in identifying dacoits and terrorists and distinguishing between the two without mistake. And even if they can unfailingly tell the one from the other, what difference there is to be in the methodology of approach, action and treatment? These are some of the points which ought to have been taken care of before taking off. It appears that this level of sophistication was not aimed at and so remains wanting. This oversight may cost all concerned painfully dear. Pakistan's prestige is at stake. Operation Blue Fox has put this country in the dock in the court of world opinion. If we fail to secure a clear certificate of conduct becoming, heaped upon our heads would be universal contempt.

Sindhi Press Expresses Outrage

92AS1116D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Jun 92 p 4

[Article by Dr. Aziz Ur Rehman Bughio: "Bahawal Massacre Generates Anger, Anguish"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The myth of 'every thing is all right' in Sindh was broken by the makers of such a claim themselves in Islamabad when they decided to involve the army in the clean-up operation to assist the civil administration for bringing normalcy in this province. But the much-trumpeted even-handed Army operation does not seem to have taken off above board on the very first leg of its launching, with arrest and release of MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] student activist Shahood Hashmi and the alleged murder in coldblood of nine innocent villagers of Tando Bahawal, near Hyderabad by 'a convoy of the armed forces', first declared as dacoits and later as terrorists.

The official assurance to investigate the allegation and bring those responsible to book has failed to convince and pacify the people of Sindh because the manner of the feared consequences is in consonance with the bitter memories they had of the military action in 1983 and 1986. The Tando Bahawal massacre has sent a wave of anguish and anger throughout the province with black days being observed and protests being organised from various platforms. Conveying these public feelings, the Sindhi press has editorially risen as an embodiment of protest to condemn what it describes as heinous crime against the Sindhis who had kept quiet on the operation with apparent agreement only because they thought they would be rid of dacoits and terrorist. The Hilal-i-Pakistan, the Jago and

the Awami Awaz (9/6) have demanded a judicial probe into the incident and a guarantee against partial and biased action in the province.

The Hilal-i-Pakistan believes that the Jamshoro killings have puzzled the people on the issue of handling the operation and damaged the Army credibility which is itself a great loss suffered by the Government. And this has unfortunately happened when the Prime Minister was busy touring the province and assuring the people of fair operation, argues the paper. The paper thinks that these assurances at the highest level went unimplemented. The least that could be done is to have the issue investigated into at the highest level and give exemplary punishment to the culprits.

The Jago refers to a recent letter published in the 'NATION' urging the government to convince the people of good intentions by impartial action and to its argument that the whole operation would look like an attempt to protect the lands of the Punjabis in Sindh if the profession is not supported by practice.

According to the paper, "exactly what was feared has happened. The local army personnel was not engaged in the action against these villagers. This means that the people in the Army can also indulge in violation of law. We consider this as dishonour to the country".

The paper calls it unfortunate that instead of Sindh government, the heads of the agencies put pressure on the Sindhi papers not to publish reports exposing the real incident, as it was against the national interests. "But the Sindhi papers felt that hiding the incident of injustice and oppression for the sake of national interests would amount to treason against not only Sindh but Pakistan also. This will inevitably happen where so much contradiction in the approaches exists. Thus, in totality, it comes to mean that when the killing of the innocent is in the national interest, the fact of its hiding becomes absolutely necessary in the national interest. What other explanation of this situation could there be?"

The paper advised the Sindh Chief Minister to dissociate himself from the responsibilities of the operation whose conductors will throw the entire burden on him as the Prime Minister has declared him to be its in charge. The paper is confident that the highest authorities in the Army have never given permission to indulge in actions like the incident of Tando Bahawal village.

In its front-paged English editorial note, the same daily says that it has now been established that the incident of the villagers killings was the result of a dispute over a piece of land belonging to two ladies, on pointation of one Ghulam Nabi Pathan who was involved in it. "The incident at Tando Bahawal has, therefore, confirmed the misgivings of the people of Sindh that this operation has been launched only to annihilate the Sindhis", alleges the paper.

The paper demands that "a Judge of the Hon'able Supreme Court be appointed to inquire into this horrible

incident and the operation should be stopped till the people are taken into confidence as to the real aims and objects of the action in Sindh". The paper thinks "it would be advisable if a round-table conference of all the political representatives belonging to Sindh is convened to arrive at a consensus about the necessity and the modalities of any action by the armed forces".

The Awami Awaz alleges that "The innocent labourers, earning their livelihood with hands and perspiration flowing, called by the Prophet (PBUH) [peace be upon him] as his friends, have been killed, described officially as Indian agents, on their death". Describing this as a sheer injustice and baseless allegation against Sindhis, the paper observes that this incident has proved that the whole exercise is designed against the people of Sindh rather than the dacoits and terrorists.

The paper wants to know "how man patriots live in Sindh and what are the signs and characteristics of patriotism. We have been brought to a point where we cannot think. We have gone mad. We can't distinguish between virtue and vice and we fail to draw the line between the two". The paper views the present situation in Sindh very grave where violation of human rights is a common crime and no qualm of conscience is felt to feel pity for the people punished for crimes not committed.

Analyst Views Causes of MQM Downfall

92AS1243D Karachi DAWN in English 22 Jun 92 p 13

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "A Fresh Twist to a Tangled Tale"]

[Text] Sindh's capacity to surprise is seemingly inexhaustible. Barely a few days ago, when the army operation was being lambasted from all sides for its ineffectiveness, who would have thought that the breakaway faction of the Muhajir Qaumi Movement [MQM]—which calls itself MQM Haqiqi—would take on the main organisation and seize many of its offices?

In the fighting that ensued, about eight people were killed and many more injured. Large parts of Karachi are under curfew, and army jawans are patrolling the streets. When Altaf Hussain, the MQM leader, who for unknown reasons, has been holed up in London for the last nine months, met Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at the Dorchester Hotel, the TV cameras could not hide the worried and even distraught look on his face.

This move on the part of the MQM dissidents, at a time when the army is in the midst of an operation to restore peace in Sindh, fuels suspicion that they could not have acted without receiving some kind of a go-ahead from some powerful quarters. What lends strength to this feeling is the fact that whereas after Friday's clashes, the MQM leadership was nowhere to be seen, having apparently gone into hiding, Aamir Khan and Badr Iqbal, two of the main dissidents, were freely speaking to the Press. When Jam Sadiq Ali was chief minister, the MQM used state power to crush its opponents. Now state power (in

a slightly different form) is being used to squeeze, if not crush the MQM. This is how times change. The MQM has lived by the sword and now it is having to contend with the sword. Try as one might, it is hard to brush aside the thought that there is an element of grim justice in the development.

Whatever else may be unclear about events in Karachi, one thing is certain. This is the most serious challenge the MQM is facing since its inception, far more serious than anything it had to face during the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government. Against external threats, the MQM could and did present a united front. Dealing with a revolt from within its own ranks is an altogether different matter.

None of which alters the fact that there has been nothing like the MQM in our political history. The first time anyone outside Karachi heard about it was in late 1986 when an MQM procession going to Hyderabad was fired upon from the Pathan enclave of Sohrab Goth. From then on, its rise was meteoric.

In 1987, it swept the local elections in Karachi and Hyderabad. In the 1988 general elections, it won all but a few of the national and provincial seats in these cities. Its decision to support the PPP was a factor in Benazir Bhutto's selection as prime minister. When the MQM turned against the PPP, Karachi quickly became an ungovernable city. Curfews were frequently imposed and troops had to be called out to maintain law and order. Unrest in Sindh, especially Karachi and Hyderabad, was a factor in Benazir Bhutto's dismissal from the prime ministership.

In the 1990 elections, the MQM improved its performance in Karachi and Hyderabad. Its support was crucial in Jam Sadiq Ali's election (or whatever it was) as chief minister. In return, the MQM got a virtual stranglehold over the Sindh government. Its writ ran unchallenged in Karachi and Hyderabad. In these two cities nothing could be done against its wishes.

Whatever happens now, the MQM has left a deep imprint on the politics of Sindh. It gave a sense of identity to the poorer sections of the Muhajir community and a sense of purpose to Muhajir youth and even Muhajir women who became active participants in all the MQM's mass activities. The MQM was also able to rid Karachi and Hyderabad from the baleful influence of religious parties like the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, which till the MQM's rise to prominence, dominated the politics of these cities. By sending lower middle class representatives to the assemblies, the MQM set a healthy precedent in national politics.

But if this is the bright side of the MQM's record, there is a dark side to it as well. The MQM has thrived on violence and has used strong-arm tactics, including, incredibly, the use of torture to frighten its opponents and also to keep its own supporters in line. During clashes between MQM and PPP activists when the PPP was in power, hostages from either side were subjected to

unspeakable brutalities. Finally, it was the army which had to step in and arrange an exchange of hostages.

Within the MQM, the price of dissent has been very high. There have been persistent rumours that the organisation has been running torture chambers to punish and break outspoken malcontents. When the so-called Haqiqi leaders developed differences with the MQM's central leadership, Karachi was no longer a safe place for them. They had to flee elsewhere to safeguard their lives.

The MQM also broke the power of the Karachi Press. Successful attempts at disrupting the distribution of newspapers compelled most, although to their honour not all, Karachi-based papers to heed the MQM's sensibilities if not outrightly to toe its line. Independent reporting about the MQM virtually came to an end. As a result, most Karachi papers looked no better than regional papers.

While these strong-arm methods proved of great help to the MQM in tightening its grip over Karachi and Hyderabad, it had the adverse effect of isolating it from liberal and enlightened opinion throughout the country. True, at the national level, it was in alliance with the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. But with the PPP no longer in power, the bonds holding the MQM and the IJI together began to loosen. Punjabi MNAs [Member of National Assembly] and ministers in frequent contact with the MQM could be heard complaining about the arrogance of the MQM leaders and their limitless demands. All these factors point to the MQM's isolation—to the fact that outside its own constituency of supporters it had few sympathisers.

But with all this, the MQM could have lived. Its most grievous error was to earn the animosity of the army. It is true that at some stage in its development the army, or some adventurous sections of it, had helped build the MQM as a counter-vailing force to the PPP and, strange as it may sound, to the Jamaat-i-Islami whose street power was a source of concern to General Zia. But if the army had to restore peace in Sindh, sooner or later it was bound to come into conflict with the tiger it had helped create. The MQM brought that day nearer.

The incident that stands out in this connection, and which really stirred feelings within the army against the MQM, was the abduction and reported torture in June last year of an army officer and some soldiers in plain clothes while they were on duty in Landhi (at a time when clashes were taking place between the MQM dissidents and activists loyal to the MQM proper). The MQM MNA who reportedly supervised this action became the special object of the army's ire. Matters were only exacerbated by the stand-off in the Karachi Steel Mills earlier this year when the new chairman of the mills (a serving general) took steps to reduce the number of casual workers said to have been recruited on political grounds.

Arrogance in power has thus been the MQM's single greatest liability. Had it opted for a moderate course, it

could have made itself more acceptable to a wider audience outside its power base in Karachi and Hyderabad. But for an organisation which turned political violence into an art form, moderation was not an easy act to follow. There was also another problem. Moderation would have implied a slight opening up of the MQM's tightly-sealed structure. It would have also meant some tolerance of internal dissent—a difficult proposition for a secretive organisation run almost on KGB principles.

It is still too early to say what the future has in store for the MQM. But this much can perhaps be said: the very factors and the very instruments which were crucial to its rise are now playing no small part in the troubles threatening to swamp it.

Articles View Ramifications of Military Attack on MQM

MQM Will Survive

92AS1240A Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 92 p 20

[Article by Shaheen Sehba: "MQM Will Not Die Politically: Azhar"]

[Text] Islamabad, June 28—The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] move to resign from the assemblies would prove its strength in the parliament, despite the crush-MQM operation, but it may also prove counter-productive, the only MQM legislator available, Senator Ishtiaq Azhar said on Sunday.

Speaking to parliamentary reporters in the cafeteria, Senator Azhar said it would become evident in a day or two how many of the MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] and MNA [Member of National Assembly] have submitted their resignations on the call of the MQM central committee.

"Yes it would damage the MQM if not many of them resigned" Senator Ishtiaq Azhar said, adding: "attempts are being made to purchase the MNAs and MPAs."

"That is why the high command has decided to ask all of them to resign and has dissolved all organisational cadres," he said.

The Senator was grilled by newsmen asking all kinds of questions, specially about the reported visit of MQM Minister Islam Nabi with the Prime Minister to Uzbekistan, despite his reported resignation.

"I am surprised at Mr Nabi's decision to go with the PM [Prime Minister] and I am sure when he returns, he would be asked by the high command," he replied. But he was not sure whether Mr Nabi would come back. "Frankly I do not know because we have had no contact," he said.

The Senator said he was feeling uncomfortable sitting on the Treasury benches after the MQM decision to quit the

coalition government, but he was waiting for the decision of Mr Altaf Hussain to ask the Senators to resign as well.

"Surprisingly, I have been invited to the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] parliamentary party meeting on Wednesday morning, probably because we were coalition partners, but I would not be attending the meeting as we have nothing to do with the IJI," he said.

The Senator also clarified that he was neither a member of the MQM nor any office holder at any level. "I am President of the Mohajir Rabita Council and I was asked to become a Senator for MQM which I accepted and I won," he said.

Questioned about the torture cells that had been discovered by the army in Karachi, Senator Ishtiaq Azhar said he had no knowledge of these cells but asked newsmen to think why all these cells were being discovered in those areas where the MQM rebels had their strength.

"Probably these rebels had set up these cells and they are now taking the army to expose them. They have found no such cells in Federal B Area, Nazimabad and such places where MQM was strong," he said.

He said the MQM leaders feared victimisation and hence they had gone underground, but he was not afraid as "I have done nothing wrong. If they want to arrest me they can, I am prepared."

The Senator said politically MQM would not die with these actions and when the time comes, we would decide whether to contest the byelections or not.

Will Improve Situation

92AS1240B Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 92 p 5

[Text] London, June 26—Former Prime Minister and Chairman National Peoples Party Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi has welcomed the Army operation in Sindh and said "the action was imperative to maintain law and order in the province."

In an interview to BBC, broadcast on Friday night, he said that the situation in Sindh was disturbed for the last seven to eight years and deteriorated in the tenure of every government.

He said that he was very disappointed with the Sindh situation, and once he had jokingly said while talking to newsmen in Islamabad that peace in Sindh could only be achieved in the grave, but in the recent days in Sindh, the graves were also bomb blasted.

Mr Jatoi expressed concern over doubts that the army action was against any political party and advised certain people "not to talk like this in the interest of the country."

He said they should not involve the army. The people, he said, fully believed in the Chief of Army Staff. "He is a

serious man and known to him for a long time. He has no links with any political party," he added.

He said Army operation was continuing and cooperation be extended so that peace could prevail in Sindh.

Replying to a question, he said it was the failure of previous governments that the action was not taken earlier to improve the law and order situation in Sindh.

Replying to another question, he said, he always said that the situation in Sindh could be improved by taking action against the provocateurs without any discrimination.

Asked about dissolution of assembly in Sindh, Jatoi said that the operation should be completed within the shortest possible time with the cooperation of all so that the situation returns to normal in the province, as such "there is no need to dissolve the Assembly and impose Governor's rule in the province," he stated.

Our Staff Correspondent in Quetta Adds:

Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi said that his party would support those who would bring peace and harmony in Sindh and the country.

Talking to NPP [National People's Party] Balochistan President Syed Farooq Shah on the telephone from London on Friday, he said, we are against all sorts of terrorism. "About the army action against the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], he said that the people who had initiated the action were in a better position to know what they were doing. "They might have a complete information and proof about the activities of the MQM," he said.

Jatoi accused the government for deteriorating the situation which could bring Martial Law in the country. He said that if Martial Law was imposed, or the situation was allowed to deteriorate, the responsibility would rest with the present government. The government, he said, has totally failed to maintain law and order, and alleged that it was "involved in nepotism."

Details on Torture Cells

92AS1240C Karachi DAWN in English 25 Jun 92
pp 1, 8

[Article by Ghulam Hasnain: "MQM's (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) Biggest Chamber of Torture"]

[Text] Karachi, June 24—Imagine a small deserted room—one of the 50 similar rooms—full of dust. Imagine a person walking through the dust and mistakenly kicking up a lump on the floor, scaring away a bunch of ants, and imagine picking up that thing out of curiosity and finding out to his horror that it was a chopped off nose to a human being who had recently been there.

I wish I had not been there. It has been almost 12 hours since I visited this torture house and I am still feeling sick in the stomach.

And I am not alone, for my feeling was shared by the newsmen and photographers who visited the infamous and one of the worst and biggest torture houses of the city in Landhi on Wednesday.

Commonly known as "Chaowani," the torture chamber was once the hostel of a technical institute and later abandoned. It was converted into a private jail and torture cell by the MQM to punish political opponents.

As one enters this complex, one finds a huge steel structure, 40 feet long, 12 feet wide and 12 feet high, erected in the centre of the compound. Five nooses of nylon and other ropes were hanging from the roof structure. Alongside the structure were scattered iron bars, metallic chains and gadgets used for torture.

One side of the cell was reserved for shooting. One of the nearby walls has a warning written on it, asking the guards to use silencers during practice.

At the far end, there was open space surrounded by small bushes and plants. In the middle was a huge tree with an old noose hanging on it. The noose was blood-stained and some particles of what obviously was human skin.

Though the rooms were dusty and dirty, the prisoners left some signs of their miserable existence on the walls. In some of the rooms, phone numbers were scratched on the walls with the help of stones, charcoal and nails. The prisoners probably wrote these in the hope that if they died, someone else who escaped from the cell might convey information to their families.

Some of the rooms have blood stains. About half a dozen women and some boys who had noticed a huge convoy of military vehicles coming outside the Chaowani came up at the cell to tell of their horrifying ordeals to journalists.

Prior to arriving at Chaowani, the newsmen were taken to the MQM sector office in Landhi to show a torture cell set up in one of the rooms of the office.

Over 40 women of all ages were already present there when the convoy of newsmen and photographers reached there. It seems that all of them had gathered to mourn the death of their dear ones.

Rabia Begum whose young son, Mohammad Arshad, was shot dead last year, soon after his return from America along with MQM dissident leaders, was crying and screaming for help and justice. "We were not allowed to attend even the burial of Arshad and he was buried without any religious ceremonies or shroud."

Same is the case with Mrs Tahira, whose husband Haider Ali, was kidnapped and later shot dead in front of an armoury shop in Saddar.

Another young lady whose husband, Mohammad Yousuf, is still missing was again and again requesting the army officials for the recovery of her husband.

A young man, Jawed, who was brutally tortured in the sector office, took me to a corner and showed me one of his testicles burnt during interrogation. Besides, his entire body had scars.

Besides Jawed, there were some other young men whose legs were damaged or broken during interrogation.

And there were scores of women who had lost their men during the last few months because of political differences.

As the women were disclosing their ordeals to the Press, a young girl, probably in her 20s, was quietly standing in the far-end of the room watching the aggrieved women surrounded by the media.

"Have you also lost someone?" First she tried to avoid the question and then suddenly broke down. "I came to enquire about the video cassette." Elaborating she said that her video film was made by the activists before she was dishonoured. "I heard that a number of video cassettes were recovered from White House (Landhi sector office)," she remarked.

As the conversation was going on, a young man appeared and took the women with him to another room.

The torture cell set up in the sector office was full of various equipments used for torture. Drill machines, sulphuric acid, nails, metallic chains, hammers, scissors and other such gadgets including a steel structure where the prisoners were tied and given electric shocks.

The women and young men who came to the White House to brief the journalists, claimed that a secret force called "Kharkar Force" was active in the MQM to punish the political opponents and those who were accused of violating party discipline.

It was an elite force of MQM, and even the sector chiefs did not know who was in the Kharkar Force. The Force was directly operated by the Markaz and Dr Imran Farooq was in charge of it, they claimed.

One of the dissident leaders, who told the Press that the White House was set up one and a half years ago, was embarrassed when an old lady interrupted him during the speech and reminded him that she had been watching him there for the last four years. "My son was always seen with you, tell me where he is," the old lady said.

The scenes at the torture cells brought tears to the eyes of all, including journalists and army officials.

Dissidents Share Guilt

92AS1240D Karachi DAWN in English 25 Jun 92 p 16

[Editorial: "Who Bears Responsibility for These Horrors?"]

[Text] The horrifying tales pouring out of Karachi of what the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] was up to, of the torture chambers it ran and how it dealt with dissidents, make spine-chilling reading. What is the proper reaction to them? One of anger, horror or plain, dumb silence? And is this enough to make up the loss of those people who suffered at the MQM's hands or whose near and dear ones were scarred or consumed in the flames of its various houses of torture? The reaction to these stories must also be one of shame. Was it not known far and wide that the MQM leaders had almost made a godhead of terror, using it to sustain their political hegemony in Karachi and, more darkly, to destroy their opponents, especially from amongst the Mohajir community, who were reckless enough to oppose their practices. The worst sufferers, of course, were those who were guilty of intra-party dissent. All this and more was known about the MQM but a conspiracy of silence surrounded its activities because those who should have spoken out were either afraid of the consequences or they were vying for the MQM leaders' support and thus conniving at whatever they did.

Since charity should begin at home, it must be said that in the first category falls the Karachi-based Press which was afraid to write a word about the MQM's widely-suspected atrocities. Events which were common knowledge were not reported because the price for doing so in Karachi, when MQM dominated the city's skyline, had become very high. There were one or two people (no more) belonging to the Press who did speak up. All the more honour to them because the path they chose was lonely and frightful. Then there were a few others who, though not overly defiant, refused to surrender, thus often inviting the wrath of the little tin gods of the MQM. Yet a far greater rank was made up of those who for political considerations humoured the MQM and its volatile chief. It also includes the highest functionaries of the state who not only tolerated but actively encouraged the MQM because it served their political interests. Successive dispensations—some visible, some not so visible—backed the MQM because its support was crucial for them in the Sindh Assembly or because its street power was considered vital in neutralising other political forces. No matter that the MQM was running torture cells and drilling holes through real or perceived enemies. No matter that it was holding not only Pakistan's largest city to ransom. So long as it was on their side, they could not care less about anything else. The state (for which read the army) has woken up to the enormity of this situation but rather belatedly. Between the MQM's rise to prominence and its present troubles, the things that were allowed to happen in Karachi brand with infamy not only the MQM but a large part of the country's leadership. It will not be easy to wash away these ugly stains.

Having said as much, there are a few additional things that need to be said about the current army operation in Karachi. First of all, the army must not take sides. To achieve its tactical objectives, it must not encourage or

turn a blind eye to the actions of the so-called MQM dissidents. Those who stand accused of heinous crimes, regardless of their political affiliations, should be hauled up without favour of discrimination. It would be ironic and cruel if one set of goons in the MQM is replaced by another set of leaders who, as is widely suspected, were till yesterday (that is, before they broke away) important cogs in the MQM's machine of violence and terror. If this is a clean-up operation let it be thorough and comprehensive. A very important part of this will have to be a short and swift campaign against all other terrorists, dacoits, *patharidars*, members of the formidable drug mafia and all those influentials who harbour such criminals.

Secondly, this operation must be taken to its logical, political conclusion. Sindh must have a fully representative government that speaks for the majority of its people. This is the *sine qua non* for any lasting solution to its troubles. Only a representative government, with a stable and a "real" majority behind it (as opposed to the majorities that Jam Sadiq Ali was so good at conjuring up), can rise above the sordid politicking and the game of horse-trading that have defiled the politics of Sindh, brought a bad name to the present democracy and created the conditions where the forces of exploitation and oppression enjoy free play and the distraught majority of innocent people are condemned to a life of misery. Obviously this is not something that the army can or should do. It is a question that the country's civilian leadership, not entirely blameless for what has been happening in Karachi, must address. They must rise above their prejudices and take steps leading to the creation of a representative set-up in the province. Otherwise, it will mean attacking the symptoms of the problem without getting to its roots. Scarcely a wise thing to do after all that has happened.

Dissident Activities Detailed

[DAWN 27 Jun]

92AS1240E Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 92 p 5

[Article by Mahmood Zaman: "How MQM Rebels Returned to Karachi"]

[Text] Lahore, June 26—It was a hot day of May 1991 when a few journalists of Lahore were taken, in a mysterious way, to a bungalow in Gulberg by a PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader driving a Pajero jeep. There, he introduced to the newsmen three MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] dissidents—Naeem Hashmat, Yunus Khan and Naeem Akhtar—who were in the Punjab to seek political support against their party's leadership.

This was the first contact of journalists of the City with the MQM rebels who, at that time, preferred to talk off the record fearing that anything in the newspaper might land them into trouble. During about an hour-long talk, the three named Afaq Ahmad and Aamir Khan as their leaders who were still in hiding.

This meeting proved to be a link between a group of mediamen and the rebel MQM leaders for many months to follow. The dissidents then had grown beards, with poorly managed dresses and torn sandals. They told us that they were living in a room near Liberty Market where there was no fan and they were also short of money to a degree that they had to skip one meal or the other.

The second meeting was with Afaq Ahmad and Aamer Khan and that too in mysterious circumstances. A few journalists were on motor bikes with one leading them to the hostel of a professional educational institute. Afaq Ahmad, who was putting up with a student known to a journalist, came out looking all around and sat on the rear seat of a motorcycle rode off to another locality. At a bungalow, Afaq Ahmad sat on the carpet with a few journalists. But the talk was again off the record as the dissident Joint Secretary of the MQM apprehended that anything from him in the newspaper would yet be too early.

The third contact was with a larger number of the dissidents at a dilapidated quarter of Nishat Colony in the Cantonment area where journalists—now on an assignment of a formal news conference—were led in a car by Yunus Khan through narrow lanes of the area. At one place the newsmen were asked to stop. Then they were led to a narrow street that ended on a small quarter where some of the dissidents were residing on rent.

It was for the first time that Aamer Khan was introduced by Afaq Ahmad. The last talk to the Press by the dissident leaders was at a four-star hotel where Badar Iqbal also joined on his return from the United States in March last. The journalists witnessed that by now some of them were having mobile telephones and were riding cars and no longer required mysterious telephone calls to invite newsmen for a talk.

The first seed of dissention was sown in January 1991 when Joint Secretaries Afaq Ahmad and Aamer Khan questioned for the first time at a Central Committee meeting about the allegations of corruption against some of the MQM leaders. The question of maltreatment of a few women workers was also asked and the accusation was not against any ordinary leader but directly against Altaf Husain. The information to Afaq and Aamer was provided by Vice President Zareen Majeed. This started the cleavage of confidence and one fine morning, Zareen Majeed broke after her child was abducted. During the meeting Altaf Husain hushed up the matter saying that the matter (of corruption) was a personal affair of somebody.

In February 1991, both Afaq and Aamer were relieved of their offices and they, with a number of activists, whom the leadership doubted to be with the dissidents, and then Sindh Minister for Transport Badar Iqbal were "forcibly" sent to the United States. Aamer and Afaq returned from the U.S. in June after having won Badar

Iqbal on their side. The same month they held a news conference in Landhi where an encounter took place causing loss of five lives.

Sensing that they were no longer safe in Karachi, Aamer Khan and Afaq Ahmad left by sea to Mekran coast and reached Quetta. They were guests of Minister Sanaullah Zehri in Balochistan from where they wrote letters to leading political leaders of the ruling party as well as the Opposition and also sent them telegraphic messages apprising them of their "excesses" of the MQM leadership. Later, they arrived in Lahore via Dera Ghazi Khan where they were transported by government vehicles.

While in Lahore, they first lodged themselves at Nishat Colony and as their number grew, they spread to localities like Ichhra and Rehmanpura. They were now about one hundred in number with more activists leaving Karachi. About 150 more dissidents had been staying at Data Darbar shrine at Bhati Gate where they ate food distributed by the Darbar Committee among needy and poor. One councillor and many activists were also accompanying their wives and children and were having hard time in the City.

In July 1991 about 20 of them, including Aamer Khan, Yunus Khan, Naeem Akhtar and Naeem Hashmat, were arrested in a pre-dawn sweep by the Special Police. They were lodged at cells on Race Course Road. It was on a habeas corpus petition filed with the Lahore High Court that they were set at liberty after a detention of three days.

Later in Lahore they contacted leaders like Minister Ejaz-ul-Haq, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, and Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar as well as a few MQM leaders. In fact some of them were arrested from the house of a PPP activist Babu Yasin in Ichhra. It was after their release that they wrote to the President, the Prime Minister and the Chief of Army Staff about the MQM affairs and their plight. The Prime Minister, though not responding to them directly, had sent a message to them through a middleman advising them to do away with their activities.

By March 1992, the dissidents had started arriving in Karachi. The people of Karachi might have witnessed one group of persons, some of them with masks, suddenly appearing in one busy area or another, distributing pamphlets and disappearing in a flash. This was possible because the rebel group had been able to muster enough support from among the MQM workers to indulge in a dangerous activity like that. On one occasion, a few persons were arrested by the police which was accompanying Altaf Husain men.

They were able to mobilise the Karachi people because of adequate supply of funds from Naeem Akhtar, who had been sent to the United States by the rebel leadership. They also made a brief stay in Rawalpindi during this period and from there they operated in Karachi and other Sindh cities.

During their talks with journalists in Lahore, the rebel leaders had been alleging the MQM leadership of: (1) Contacts with a few foreign states with the objective of separating Karachi from Sindh to turn the port city into another Hong Kong; (2) Inciting the MQM workers to prepare themselves to fight against the Armed Forces; (3) Kidnapping and torturing dissident workers on the slightest doubt; (4) Firing on dissidents houses and intimidating their parents and other dear ones; (5) Molesting women; (6) Resorting to corrupt practices in government departments and private sector; (7) Coercing well-to-do families to provide them funds; and (8) Murder of about 100 dissident activists.

Afaq Ahmad said during a talk that dissidents' houses were set on fire; about 2,500 of them made homeless and female relatives of another 100 activists kidnapped. He said about 70 activists had been missing for the last several months and suspected to have been killed after torture in some 100 torture cells. Afaq also said their differences started when the leadership who talked of 98 percent poor had awarded tickets to corrupt and opportunists in the 1990 polls. He also accused the leadership of amassing wealth for personal gains and blackmailing authorities and capitalists for money. He also alleged that top MQM leaders had opened accounts in certain foreign banks with millions of rupees.

Now when the Army operation in urban Sindh had almost turned the table, the dissidents appear to have consolidated their political position in Karachi and other cities of the province. Not only they are no longer gripped in the fear of the leadership, they seem to have also started political work that may ultimately benefit them.

A source close to dissident MQM leaders said that they do not want to undermine the MQM as their fight was against fascist attitude and not the basic objectives of the party. But the grievances of Mohajirs were to be redressed by political means rather than fascist tactics of turning a whole population of millions as a hostage at gunpoint.

According to sources the "Haqeeqi" group has established political authority over most of Karachi to rid the citizens of terrorism. For this they would assist the law enforcing agencies and keep on exposing the hitherto leadership's tactics.

The "Haqeeqi" MQM would in a few days make "startling revelations" about the MQM leaders' "conspiracy against the country," particularly their foreign contacts and bargains, the source added.

Needs New Leadership

92AS1240F Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 92 p 11

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "The Moment of Truth"]

[Text] Disclosure of a large number of torture chambers has made one anguished and fearful about future. How

many they are, who precisely was running them and how many perished or suffered in them are details that one does not have stomach for.

They do not even matter for present purposes. It cannot be said that one did not know, although nothing was known with any degree of certitude, the cult of gun, hero worship, political illiteracy were known attributes of MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. That is what had made one recoil from it. And yet, one had voted for it, at least initially. Where does one, and many others who can be called Mohajir elders, stand now?

It is easy to say all the usual things that were said and will continue to be said: politics of violence proves to be, before too long, counterproductive. Parties tailored around a single personality always end up in confusion and stultification. A party without discipline is useless. But a party with excessive discipline is even worse. And so forth. Most of it is the stuff of platitudes.

The evidence thrown up by the ongoing military operation in Karachi has raised wide-ranging questions. It would indict many here in Karachi and in Islamabad. All those who were allies of the MQM in the province and at the Centre share its guilt, insofar as it has been proved.

Indeed students of politics would go on to ask searching questions about who inspired the MQM into being and why. It is necessary to know their *modus operandi*. If government agencies were involved, they should be exposed and blame placed where it should. Who else in the present setup is implicated is, however, not one's subject matter here. One wishes to focus on the position of a limited audience: the politically-aware and morally-sensitive individuals among the particular ethnic group that was sought to be exclusively represented by MQM.

Before too much blame is heaped on MQM—and it would soon be a fashion—it is necessary to look at the background against which MQM's meteoric rise took place. Politics, in the wake of the overthrow of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government of Mr Z.A. Bhutto, was in a state of suspended animation and utterly confused. The Ulema and other rightwing leaders had hijacked a genuine protest movement against the human rights excesses of a populist government and suddenly everyone had begun chanting Islamic slogans, the military dictator loudest among them all. As it happened, involving the name of Islam for promoting partisan political aims had had its inevitable results: it began dividing and sub-dividing the nation.

Then the exigencies of a military regime's politics—regimentation of the media, on the one hand, and the tactics of divide and rule, on the other—took a heavy toll of liberal democratic politics. The intellectual tone having been set by the massive rhetoric by the MRD [Movement for Restoration of Democracy] and Gen Zia's, the nation began to flounder in highly divisive politics that looked pastward. In that ambience, starting the dividing process was so easy.

It was Sindh that saw most of the dirty action, though not exclusively. The chief of the military government used to send bouquets to the venerable father of Sindh nationalism, G.M. Syed, on the one hand, and his administration patronised all the various quickly-proliferating-ethnic entities and sub-groups, ranging from ultra-Sindhi-nationalist groups and individuals to the exclusivist Pashtoon, Punjabi, Mohajir and even Baluch groups, on the other.

Between 1980 and 1985, a large number of ethnic, sectarian and sub-sectarian parties also began flexing their muscles, mostly in Karachi and elsewhere in Sindh. Various riots ensued. That was the time when MQM forged ahead. Its rise was stormy. It obviously supplied a felt need. It had also some achievements to its credit.

Just as one has never ceased to admire the achievements of Mr Z.A. Bhutto in enabling Pakistani voters in 1970 to cut across tribal, *baradari* and sectarian barriers and also to defy the influence of the local Waderas, Choudhries, Khans and Pirs, one also admired the MQM. On what basis? On the one hand, it rescued Karachi from the peurile politics of religious parties like JI (Jamaat-i-Islami) and JUP (Jamiat Ulema Pakistan). The politics of these parties encompassed a limitless arid desert of ideology but had no specific relationship with the actual human condition in Karachi, Sindh or in other parts of Pakistan.

MQM seizing on the actual wants of admissions to professional colleges and jobs amongst the so-called Mohajirs, broke through all barriers like a rocket, rising sheer. It found it easy to pierce the various divides of sects and older political affiliations. In a twinkling of history's eye, it carried all before it and won the local bodies election in 1987 handsomely. It had arrived. It could achieve what one has mentioned, because it underlined concrete problems of the people it sought to represent.

From that point on, it is a story of electoral successes but without having a recognisable political philosophy or any element of a social and economic programme that condemned it to opt for pursuing power exclusively for enjoying it. Its leadership, by virtue of the terrible discipline enforced through direct physical violence (or its threat), began wandering in the moral wasteland of power politics. The results are now before us.

The intellectual limitations of MQM leadership were, and are, grievous. It never even inquired why the MQM was shunned by all its allies whether it was PPP or IJI or, as is the case with, the President and army generals. Possibly it did not even register on them that their 15 MNAs [Members of National Assembly] had made a far smaller impact on Mr Nawaz Sharif's mind than the much fewer number of other groups like JUI or ANP [Awami National Party] or even JI.

MQM is paying the ultimate price because no one wanted the stranglehold of a strange and unpredictable group over Karachi, the key city that is also the economic

capital of the country, least of all the military leadership. Although its achievements were genuine enough, the logic of its questionable political methodology and ideologically erratic course have caught up with it.

The question is where do we go from here? The idea that the MQM would be destroyed and forgotten after its misdeeds are exposed—and duly highlighted by the government-controlled electronic media—is wishful thinking. For any one in Islamabad to prognosticate that the main party structure of MQM can be utilised again under the leadership of the dissident group is unrealistic. Or that things can revert to "business as usual" is also unlikely to take off. Neither can MQM, which had fulfilled a necessary purpose earlier and, to an extent, may still be able to perform the function of combating empty sectarian or other ideological slogans, although it shows no awareness of the concomitants of democratic politics or the higher requirements of keeping citizens' faith outside the scope of a constable's questioning. Even so it is not likely to disintegrate or vanish quickly.

But can it survive in its unaltered form and retain some strength? The exposures are sure to have their impact over a period of time, while it continues to exist in some form or other for quite a while. Only, it will be subject to unavoidable but insidious change. But that period will be one of confusions, frustration and leaderlessness. And that would also characterise much of Karachi politics. That is where the elders of the community come in.

True, some of us still wonder as to what happened to the historical, cultural tradition that we were supposed to be heir to. Traditions of politics in the areas from where the so-called Mohajirs came was certainly different and had no nexus with violence of any kind. To be sure, the tenor of Muslim politics in the north Indian provinces was largely conservative and pro status-quo. But it also had an unbroken tradition of radicalism and later anti-Imperialism. Link between politics with larger ideas and practical idealism was never totally absent.

Some of us who grew up in those areas before coming to Pakistan have never reconciled to the change that migration wrought on the minds of the refugees and their children, despite our having been moulded by the Indo-Persian civilisation. The kind of naked power politics and its pursuit with Kalashnikovs has led to what could be feared: into a political and moral cul-de-sac.

Should not some of us elders do a bit of thinking and engage in a minimal kind of activism in order to try and inform the clientele of Karachi politicians with actually simple political notions that have both relevance to the real problems of the area, the province and the country as well as political and human ideals we all hold dear. For one thing, the misguided young MQM cadres—some too far gone down violence and crimes' road and some still redeemable—need to be reclaimed and rehabilitated wherever possible. Future awaits to be shaped. Who will do it?

Sindh Needs New Government

92AS1240G Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 92 p 11

[Article by Mazdak: "Marching To a Different Drummer"]

[Text] In the wake of the highly effective and relatively painless neutralising of the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], the army has much to be satisfied about. In one dexterous stroke, GHQ and its subsidiary intelligence outfits have managed to use MQM dissidents to drive Altaf Hussain's forces into complete disarray, while at the same time exposing his organisation's internal weakness.

Through this finely-tuned action, the army has salvaged an image badly tarnished by the earlier bloody incidents in Sindh—incidents which had raised serious questions about its impartiality. By extending its cleanup operation into Karachi, GHQ has won the support of its harshest critics in Sindh, and in ridding us—temporarily at least—of the MQM menace.

But while they are certainly entitled to bask in the unexpected and unusual glory of recent events, the generals would do well not to become complacent and think they have discovered a panacea for Sindh's many problems. History shows that while the army may have managed to offer simple short-term solutions to national problems, it has invariably generated even greater crises in the longer term by attempting to impose its black-and-white vision of how society should be organised. The trouble is that civilians tend not to follow the linear path the generals have charted for them. There is no formalistic hierarchy, no chain of command that governs civil society in Pakistan: by nature, we are an anarchic bunch, marching to the beat of numerous drummers. And even then, we are usually out of step.

Whenever a general with strong ambitions has usurped power, he has soon discovered that the helm of state is a particularly slippery instrument which often fails to respond to his command. This is a far cry from the instant obedience he is accustomed to after a lifetime of receiving and giving orders. Invariably, he starts out by assuming that he will "sort out" the politicians by the simple expedient of ordering them to stand at attention and do his bidding. Alas, the reality is very different.

Consider what happened to poor Yahya Khan: the besotted dictator had been persuaded by intelligence agencies that no single party would emerge with a clear majority in the 1970 elections, and that he would be able to manipulate the coalition government that would be formed, thus retaining the presidency and actual power. But his actions based on this estimate led inexorably to the break-up of Pakistan.

It is no secret that Zia and his intelligence agencies were largely responsible for the creation and arming of the MQM. They had not calculated on the massive support he received from his constituency of Mohajirs who felt vulnerable and disenfranchised. And when the MQM

flexed its muscles, making and unmaking governments, the army found its creature had slipped its leash and was threatening the stability of Sindh. Thus, an organisation that had been established to counter the popularity of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in the province had become a Frankenstein monster: the quick fix had become an unending and malignant cancer.

In the current context, while it is perfectly OK to use one bunch of thugs to sort out another, it is certainly not the basis for a secure political framework. As the uncertainty around the future of the Sindh government continues, and Muzaffar Shah and his MQM partners follow rope-a-dope tactics, it would be a grave mistake for the ruling troika in Islamabad to think they can carry on business as usual. The present dispensation in Sindh is dead, and the decent thing would be to bury it before it fouls the air even more.

The army has to realise that simply withdrawing after pulling down some iron gates, exposing the existence of several torture cells and arresting a few hundred MQM militants is only a brief lifting of the siege. The present crisis is largely the result of the creation of the MQM and the farcical 1990 elections; the army covertly had a hand in the former, and tacitly approved the latter. By robbing a large proportion of rural Sindhis of the right to choose their representatives, the federation has alienated vast numbers of Sindhis who feel they have been denied access to power at every level.

In the unseemly scramble to keep Benazir Bhutto out of power at the federal and provincial levels at any cost, all kinds of unsavoury deals were made, most notably with the MQM. Altaf Hussain and his cohorts of armed goons used their new-found blackmailing powers literally as a license to kill. While newspapers are now carrying photographs of torture cells, everybody in Karachi—very much inclusive of chief ministers Jam Sadiq and Muzaffar Shah—knew about their existence.

It should be clear to the meanest intelligence—and intelligence agency—that the present government in Sindh has neither the moral authority, nor the popular support to govern Sindh effectively in the crisis it is facing today. The only possible long-term solution is to hold fresh elections—at least in Sindh—to undo the mischief caused by the rigged polls of 1990.

While asking the army to insist on the steps which are the logical outcome of its ongoing action may seem contradictory to the earlier argument against military intervention, it is actually a recognition of the army's earlier role—in conjunction with the Presidency—in creating the current crisis. In all fairness to itself and the nation, the least it can do is to clean up the mess in Sindh it helped to create in the first place.

Lawlessness May Continue*92AS1240H Karachi DAWN in English 1 Jul 92 p 15*

[Article by M.H. Askari: "The MQM Phenomenon"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The vexing enigma of the "torture chambers" reportedly discovered in Karachi is not that they had apparently been there all these years, under the very nose of the authority, but that those who are believed to have been responsible for establishing them should have been wooed by political elements who wished to get into power.

It would be sheer naivete to believe that governments which had been coalition partners of MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] should have been unaware of the existence of the "torture chambers." For one thing, they had a multiplicity of agencies available to them which could have been expected to know what was going on. Moreover, if there were any doubts in the matter they should have been removed at the time of the officially arranged exchange of political activists who had reportedly been subjected to torture by their rivals.

The MQM first entered into an alliance with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] after the elections of 1988, giving rise to the expectation that the urban and rural Sindh would now be able to live in harmony and work for the development of a region which had suffered from a chronic sense of deprivation. However, the PPP, ill-advisedly, did not give MQM a meaningful share in political and economic power and the two parties became progressively estranged.

In a clever political manoeuvre, the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] under the leadership of Mr Nawaz Sharif, who was the Chief Minister of Punjab at the time, capitalised on the situation and secretly entered into an alliance with MQM high command. Mr Nawaz Sharif and other top-level IJI leaders then made it a point to refer to the founder of the MQM as "Altaf Bhai," as a gesture to emphasise that the Party had been assigned the role of Big Brother in the political arrangement. The IJI leadership never missed an opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to the compact with MQM—tactics which paid dividends in the 1990 elections when MQM secured 28 seats in the Sindh Assembly and 14 seats in the National Assembly.

With its strong presence in the Sindh Assembly, MQM became a key factor in the manipulations master-minded by late Jam Sadiq Ali, with full backing of Islamabad, to keep PPP out of power in the province, regardless of its proven electoral strength. No thought was apparently given to the inherent risk of the possible deepening of the urban-rural divide, since MQM was largely confined to major cities such as Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, and PPP managed to retain its base in the rural areas: The possibility that ethnic Sindhis might view the Jam

MQM coalition as a manoeuvre to deprive them of their share in political and economic power was apparently lost sight of.

Despite PPP's ouster, ethnic polarisation which had already manifested itself in incidents such as the Pucca Qila clash in Hyderabad showed no signs of abating and at times assumed even uglier proportions. Dacoities, holdups and kidnappings for ransom remained the order of the day and virtually paralysed the administration, specially in the interior. But the situation more often than not was projected as one of law and order, and not attributed to the political gerrymandering which really was at its root.

The clean-up operation in Sindh which started, with the help of the Army and the Rangers some three weeks ago, generally had the support of the people. The operation has had its most visible impact in Karachi where the security forces have discovered the sordid "torture chambers" and brought to light instances of terrorism which was inflicted upon people who had to suffer their fate in silence.

However, as the clean-up operation has intensified some MQM dissidents who have recently surfaced in Karachi have laid claim to MQM leadership. In some areas they managed to dislodge MQM loyalists, they have since constituted themselves into a breakaway faction of their old party, under the label of MQM (Haqiqi), and, working strenuously to extend their sphere of influence, managed to wean away some former MQM office-bearers. One may, however, add that it, in no way, redounds to the security forces' image that the dissidents' apparent gains in Karachi have been seen as associated with the progress of the clean-up operation. The authorities concerned have nonetheless denied that they have had anything to do with the dissidents' activities and attributed the development to MQM infighting.

The clean-up operation has, however, lately come up against an unanticipated development. The MQM central committee which is mostly underground has announced the resignations of its members from the Sindh Provincial Assembly and the National Assembly and, even more significantly, the dismantling of the party structure. Reports appearing in a section of the Press on Sunday claimed that MQM has disbanded all of its zones, circles, sectors and units.

The development has put into jeopardy the survival of the Sindh cabinet and unconfirmed reports already speak of Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Shah sounded out PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] on the possible inclusion of its nominees in the provincial government. The MQM's dissociation from the existing political setup will also inevitably cut into the IJI's strength at the Centre.

The dismantling of the MQM party structure has deprived the dissidents of their immediate 'targets'; they

now no longer have any MQM strongholds as the objective of their strategy to consolidate their position. In any case, their credibility to function as leaders of the Mohajirs in Sindh and fill the vacuum created after the dismantling of MQM cannot be regarded as very high.

The move by the MQM central Committee is indeed a clever rear-guard manoeuvre, cutting the ground from under the feet of the dissidents and placing the IJI in a bit of a quandary. The move could also release the hard-core MQM militant cadres from any visible form of centralised discipline. The possibility of some of these cadres operating more or less autonomously on their own, creating pockets of localised influence and perhaps posing a major law and order problem, cannot now be ruled out.

At the time of writing, the outlook for Karachi is unclear and it would probably be quite some time before a clear picture would emerge. The prospects of MQM being decimated—which earlier did not seem improbable—may have receded and there is even talk of MQM regaining some of its lost support because of its image of being the major loser in the clean-up operation. The former Chief of Army Staff, Gen Mirza Aslam Beg, once reportedly said that he did not respond to the PPP demand for a take-over under Article 147 at the time when Sindh was facing its worst ethnic turmoil as he did not want the Army “to be seen as chasing shadows.” Whether the security forces would now come up against a situation similar to what Gen Aslam Beg visualised may, however, be a bit premature to say.

While the fortunes of MQM may presently appear to be uncertain (even though Mr Altaf Husain has reportedly claimed in an interview in London that it would be difficult to wipe out the MQM which would prove its resilience because it is a party with mass support and had demonstrated its strength in local and assembly elections) the fact cannot be denied that the party provided the Urdu-speaking Muhajir population with leadership which was radically different from what it had traditionally been.

When the party was formed in 1984 he had the moral courage to tell the Muhajirs that they alone were, by no means, the *thekedars* (custodians) of the ideology and of Islam and Pakistan and should strive for more mundane objectives such as equal opportunities in jobs and services. As the renowned (Sindhi) political scientist, Hamza Alavi, has pointed out, a section of Sindhi leaders and intellectuals then began to recognise that Muhajirs “are Sindhi people and must stand shoulder to shoulder with Sindhi-speakers in Sindh.”

The MQM also deviated from the Muhajir’s traditional role of being pro-Centre and pro-Army and today in fact, appears to be out of favour with both.

The Muhajir’s real competition for jobs and services in Sindh was not with the native Sindhis (who were themselves something of an underdog until Bhutto came on the scene) but with the migrant labour from the North.

However, at some point of time, MQM found itself in confrontation with the Sindhis (probably as a result of the machinations of certain agents provocateurs) and the picture began to change.

At the commencement of the clean-up operation, there were reports that the Chief of Army Staff, Gen Asif Nawaz, is in favour of a package of political, economic and social reforms being adopted to ensure stability in Sindh. Whether such a package has been developed or not is not known. In the meantime, there is speculation that political bargaining may once again be resorted to in order to secure support for the present Sindh Government, and this could mean inducements being offered to various political parties (presumably not PPP) to patch up yet another coalition.

Gen Aslam Beg in an interview has stressed the need for initiating a political dialogue to restore normality in Sindh. He has also warned against any complacency being permitted in the civil administration in the province while the Army and the Rangers are engaged in the clean-up. If the civil administration is not thoroughly reformed and rid of corruption, the Province could once again find itself in the grip of lawlessness after the army is withdrawn.

IJI Still Needs MQM

92AS1240I Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
3 Jul 92 p 7

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: “Need for Public Participation in Sindh Operation”]

[Text] Barring the few disgruntled political parties and vested interests, the nation as a whole has wholeheartedly welcomed the army action in Sindh, particularly the people of Sindh who have heaved a sigh of relief. The reign of terror which had gripped the province of Sindh for a considerable period of time is perhaps over at least for the time being. The rising graph of dacoities, burglaries, sniper firing, and kidnappings for ransom has suddenly fallen. It is heartening to see that the Pakistan Army is regularly briefing the press on the clean-up operation.

The fortifications, barricades and the torture cells discovered in Karachi and Hyderabad establish that the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] had been using organised terrorism to keep down its political opponents and dissidents. There was *imperium in imperio* in the form of MQM in Sindh. Now that strong circumstantial evidence is there against the MQM, one hopes that no leniency would be shown to the high-ups of MQM and other political parties responsible for organised crime in Sindh, even if their political support is necessary for the survival of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] in Sindh. The survival of Pakistan is at stake, and it should override all other considerations.

Although, legally, morally and ethically, the Army is directly responsible for the massacre of nine innocent

people at Tando Bahawal, but this is not the right time to malign the entire Army. The Major who is allegedly responsible for this hideous crime is reported to have some personal motives behind this crime. And since the Army has decided to bring to justice the alleged accused, there is no need to cry wolf. One should realise the ever-lasting benefits that this operation would have on the life and economy of the battered province of Sindh.

However, the big question is how and by whom, the after effects of the Army operation are to be sustained once the Army is back to barracks. There are reports that the MQM activists have started threatening its dissidents with dire reprisals after the Army is withdrawn. It is obvious that the Army would not stay in Sindh for an indefinite period of time due to various political, legal and constitutional constraints.

It is also untenable that the inept Sindh civil administration, which has time and again failed to restore law and order in Sindh, would be anything better than now after the operation. Unless, of course major reshufflings are now made in the entire Sindh civil administration. But this is a gigantic task and may take many months. The Centre has removed some of the notorious civil servants who were suspected of having political affiliations, but the need is to overhaul the civil services at the lowest cadre also.

It would have been better for the Centre to make major changes in the Sindh civil administration prior to the operation. Things would have been far easier for the Army now. Since it is now asking the Government to change the inefficient and politicised civil administrators, it is bound to face criticism by the political parties for indulging in civil matters.

But we believe that even if the revamping of the entire Sindh civil administration is carried out successfully, the causes of law and order in Sindh would still remain. The need of the hour is to instal a national consensus government in Sindh incorporating all the elected representatives of Sindh. Although the best method is elections, these should be held at their proper time, when law and order situation in Sindh starts showing signs of abatement and normal political activities are resumed.

For the time being both the IJI and the PDA should initiate a dialogue amongst all the political parties of Pakistan for the formation of a consensus government in Sindh. If these political alliances are still refusing to come to terms with one another, then the President of Pakistan should intervene and use his influence particularly on the IJI whose power is surely going to be attenuated after the crackdown on MQM.

Another imperative need is to organise the people of Sindh to participate wholeheartedly in this Army action. This is not to imply that without public participation the operation would become illegal. But we have to think about the future also, when the civil administration will

assume full control of the province. So far public participation in the clean-up operation has been chiefly out of fear.

If confidence building measures are adopted by the Army, there will certainly develop a sense of belonging between the local people and the Army. It is wrong to believe that the entire province of Sindh is against the Centre or the Army. However, a lot depends upon how the Army acquits itself in the ugly incident at Tando Bahawal. The failure of the civil administration in Sindh is a stark reminder to the politicians and the people of Sindh that they will have to change themselves, if they don't want the Army to restore law and order in their province.

One wonders why the government of IJI knowing well about all these torture cells, and the illegal arms in the possession of MQM, did not try to unearth these hide-outs. If Sindh Police was impotent and corrupt, it could have used the Rangers. But it has deployed the Army and has taken shelter behind the Army so as not to shoulder the entire blame for this operation against the misdeeds of the MQM.

IJI does not want to estrange or curb the MQM forever. It only wants to change the top leadership of the MQM which was getting out of its control. IJI is still banking on the MQM for its support in Sindh. Without MQM the IJI would be a non-entity in Sindh politics. It wants that Altaf Hussain & Company and all its armed gangs should be removed from the MQM, and the dissidents who are now under its moral and physical patronage should claim the MQM, so as to use its political power base in Sindh as a counterweight against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and other anti-IJI groups in Sindh. IJI is killing two birds with one stone.

Government Credibility Lost

92AS1240J Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
3 Jul 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Chaudhri Nisar Ali Spills the Beans"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] That was quite an outburst from the soft-spoken Special Assistant to the Prime Minister. He went for the press, which had portrayed him as a 'weepy' Minister, his cabinet colleagues who are prone to violate their oath of secrecy, for the armed forces who appear to him to have taken the bit in their mouth, and for General Aslam Beg who won't learn to keep his peace. His case against the press was not entirely fair. Press reporters can hardly be expected to ignore the pearls of wisdom which Ministers are forever dropping into their ears in the strictest confidence. The Federal cabinet is like a sieve dripping with information (and disinformation), it cannot retain any fluid for long, the straining and sifting is all left to news editors.

The Minister's comments on operation clean-up in Sindh were important and disturbing. The army, he says,

had compiled a list of persons, most of them belonging to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], who were suspected of harbouring dacoits and anti-state elements and it was assumed by the government that all those miscreants would be nabbed by the army as soon as the go-ahead was given by the Prime Minister. The army, he claimed, also gave an assurance that no action would be taken against any elected representative without the approval of the Federal and Provincial governments. But the whole operation appeared to the government to have taken a wholly unexpected turn after the Tando Bahawal incident in which nine innocent villagers were killed. The Minister said the operation now appeared, in some circles, to be directed against the Urdu-speaking people of Sindh. The Minister proceeded to emphasise that the civil government must retain the authority to keep the army operation under strict supervision and to guide its scope and direction.

Now, whoever questioned that authority? But the time to assert it was before the army was called to the aid of civil power and not after operation clean-up had taken an "unexpected" turn. It was for the government to specify the task entrusted to the armed forces and to lay down the conditions under which the task was to be performed. But at that time the Prime Minister and his colleagues were in a state of euphoria. They took little notice of the warnings given by the press and by some members of the National Assembly. They dismissed the need to identify the provisions of law under which the operation was to be conducted. The nitty-gritty was left to the technicians to sort out while the Ministers proceeded on a series of quite pointless tours abroad. When they returned to base they found to their chagrin that not one PPP 'dacoit' had been put in the jug. Instead some of their closest associates in the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] (a principal member of the ruling alliance) had either been arrested or had gone underground. To add to their horror the army had discovered a whole network of torture-cells under MQM control. Even the loyalists started asking awkward questions. If the Nawaz Sharif government had the slightest suspicion of the terrorist proclivities of their allies in office (most people in Karachi had a fair idea of what was going on) should it not have dissociated itself from an organisation which was seen to be operating like a fascist set-up.

Chaudhri Nisar Ali says that the political and economic problems of Sindh cannot be solved by force alone. When did this truth dawn upon the government? Before or after the discovery of the torture cells? Surely, the government knew that Jam Sadiq Ali was nothing if not an instrument of force and force alone. But they gave him all the freedom to harass and persecute its political opponents.

True, there is need for dialogue with the Opposition so that a politically credible cover can be provided to ensure the success of the army operation in Sindh. But the thought must have crossed the mind of the President and the Prime Minister before they called upon the Chief of the Army Staff to come to their aid and save Sindh.

Unless, of course, they expected the operation to conclude on a triumphant note with the arrest of some of the more prominent members of the PPP.

It is time still to go back to the drawing board and draw up a charter of duties which the army is expected to perform. The constitutional provisions and the conditions under which the job is to be carried out must be clearly specified. The army, too, should carefully examine whether it is qualified to undertake the job which is assigned to it by the government. An army can put down a violent demonstration, even quell a revolt but it cannot assume the responsibility of establishing law and order in the country unless there is a truly representative and effective government from which it can draw necessary authority and protection.

The present government has lost much of its credibility: what little influence the President had is badly eroded. Should the army carry on the operation according to its own lights or call it off? If the present state of confusion and drift continues the country will go on slipping further into a political and social quagmire.

Military Action in Vain

92AS1240K Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
3 Jul 92 p 4

[Article by Syed Fahd Husain: "Fallout of the Sindh Saga"]

[Text] The current scenario in Sindh has produced more questions than answers. Everyday reports are filtering in of more arrests and seizures of arms caches. Well and good. But the volatile political situation that is developing in the troubled province might end up undermining all other successes.

Some gnawing questions doing the rounds, remain unanswered, and are leading to wild speculations:

Why the crackdown on MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] now when, in all probability, high-ups in Islamabad knew all along about the gory activities of the party?

Why was the President's son-in-law, Irfanullah Marwat, allowed to leave Pakistan, and at whose behest and forewarning?

How are arms and ammunition being recovered from the houses of MQM leaders who went underground days ago? How many people are stupid enough to leave such incriminating evidence behind?

Why are Prime Minister's confidantes Chaudhry Nisar Ali and Ghulam Hyder Wyne, indulging in anti-army tirades? Are they giving voice to some other person's fears and misgivings?

These questions take on a more ominous character, given the uncertain future and the rapidly shifting political alliances. The MQM is in disarray. The Sindh

government is holding on to the last vestiges of authority and credibility. The President is under fire. Nawaz Sharif appears flabbergasted and without much control on how the situation is shaping up. And the army is slowly consolidating its grip.

Some interesting observations (not without an ironical twist) come to the fore in the wake of these recent developments.

History has come full circle since the days of Benazir's government. Nawaz Sharif's strength in Punjab (in addition to some other factors) catapulted him to power. The People's Party was pushed to the sidelines even in Sindh where Jam Sadiq Ali, through fair and foul (mostly foul) methods, cobbled together an anti-PPP [anti-Pakistan People's Party] coalition government. Nineteen months and many a crises later, the same PPP is in a position in Sindh where the government needs its support to prop up Muzaffar Shah and his merry men, however few they are.

The power of the MQM is being dismantled by the very people who helped create it in the very first place. This policy of "use and discard" is becoming a permanent feature of Pakistani politics.

The country has once again failed to be rehabilitated from the addiction of army rule or "danda" power. After all those high-flying statements about the virtues of democracy and how we had finally reached there, politicians have brought us back to where we started from. Ayub, Yahya and Zia were trying to make a point about our political culture (which worships authority). Will time prove them right, after all?

Twenty-one years later, the government is repeating the same mistakes. Jeay Sindh wants a Sindhu Desh and Altaf Hussain was planning a "Jinnahpur" comprising Karachi and Hyderabad. It is convenient to brand them traitors. No government has bothered to address the root cause of why a Pakistani community no longer wants to be part of the country. Insensitivity to such serious grievances and using force as a solution, cost us half the country. Are we any wiser?

That the Sindh policy of the present set-up in Islamabad has failed, is crystal clear. It is no secret that the policy

was being controlled and directed by the Man on the Hill. So in essence the blame for the failure lies fairly and squarely in his lap. But since he is accountable to no one but himself, the fallout of the whole mess will not affect him at all. And this is in spite of "accountability" being the hottest word in town.

Traditional supporters of the army may emerge the ultimate gainers from this situation, and there is no shortage of them. This colourful group comprises all those personalities who have generally failed in mainstream politics and have failed to get elected, some even from their own constituencies. For them, the road to power and political office lies directly through the GHQ. With the army gradually consolidating its hold on Sindh, and the provincial assembly slipping into oblivion, their chances of cashing in seem to grow brighter by the day. If a governor's rule is established, many of these mavericks might end up as ministers and advisors.

Within this confounding confusion, however, two facts stand out as stark certainties:

The traditional MQM vote bank in Karachi and Hyderabad will remain intact. Both Muslim League (PML) and the PPP have been heard saying that they would like nothing more than to fill the political vacuum that might appear as a result of the MQM fiasco. This will not happen. The MQM leadership has been disgraced and disintegrated, but the original cause of the movement which fired up millions of Mohajirs, remains intact. Come what may, no political party can woo the Mohajir community in urban Sindh because the community has been thoroughly indigenised. In one form or the other, the MQM will remain alive and keep in its fold a majority of the voters of Karachi and Hyderabad.

Sobering influence of the army will linger on, at least in the foreseeable future. This is an unfortunate fact because it spells the utter failure of civil agencies, be it the police or the provincial administration. Army intervention is a temporary solution and it should be considered as such. No effort is being made to rectify the problems or deficiencies prevalent in the civil administration. So, once the army leaves, things will deteriorate back to their original dismal level. The whole exercise would have been in vain.

Sophisticated Planning Said Behind Sectarian Violence

92AS1243B Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jun 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Sectarian Violence Again"]

[Text] The death of two policemen in a rocket attack in Jhang has added fresh tension to an already grim law and order situation in that troubled city. It was already under a curfew after Monday's tragic murder of a leader of a religious organisation. Tuesday's violence broke out following angry protest by members of a religious group over the delay in handing over of the body of a proclaimed offender, killed in a police encounter on Monday. The latest eruption of violence which coincided with the burial of a slain leader of a religious organisation, escalated sectarian tensions and resulted in numerous unfortunate incidents in Jhang. The tragic episode came in the wake of some of the worst incidents of sectarian violence in various parts of the country in recent years. It came when memories were still fresh of the Gilgit killings, apparently sparked off by the earlier cold-blooded murder of a leader of a politico-religious organisation in Lahore. Afterwards, the purveyors of sectarian hatred targeted Karachi where a number of tragic occurrences happened in quick succession, leading to the death of three innocent people and injuries to many others. Together with some other incidents of sectarian nature, these have placed additional strains on the fragile peace prevailing in certain parts of the country.

The most alarming aspect of the fresh wave of sectarian violence is the element of planning and premeditation that seems to have gone into a number of unfortunate incidents of shooting and killing. In an atmosphere rife with intolerance, fanaticism and blind antagonism, even a minor scuffle is enough to set off a chain reaction, a kind of vicious circle, which cuts its fearful swath of bloodshed and violence as it moves, gathering force from large deposits of seething hatred and distrust. The contagion, if allowed to spread, could make the present situation even more explosive and cause incalculable harm. The task of checking the scourge has assumed added significance with the approach of Muharram when an emotionally charged atmosphere could be easily exploited by malcontents to create more trouble.

It is imperative to take prompt and effective preventive action at various levels to forestall the danger of sectarian disturbances. More so in the context of the existing law and order situation which is too tenuous to bear the strain of something as destructive as sectarian clashes. The role of the law enforcement agencies can hardly be overemphasised. They must demonstrate anticipation and imagination in tackling incidents and situations that are potentially explosive. Placing some zealots and trouble-makers in protective custody for a few days alone would not do. It is far more important to make serious efforts to calm passions on either side of the sectarian divide. That walls in certain urban areas

have been inscribed with provocative sectarian slogans and words of denigration clearly show that sectarian violence is not the outcome of a momentary surge of temper or emotions but that certain elements are deliberately trying to fuel passions and hatred. Perhaps, even more important in the context of the challenge is the role of the Ulema, especially leaders of both religious sects. They must play an active role in restraining the militants among their followers from acting in an irresponsible manner. The sectarian-minded must be made to realise that they shall not be permitted to spread hatred and prejudice and thus tear society's peace and order to shreds.

Sectarianism Seen Growing Threat to National Security

92AS1243C Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jun 92 p 19

[Article by Eqbal Ahmad: "The 'Islamic' Nemesis"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Sectarianism exists throughout the world. World over, it has the same ugly face: bigoted, divisive, violent, and without a redeeming feature. There are several variants of sectarianism—ideological, ethnic, and religious. Of these, religious sectarianism has been the oldest and most malevolent phenomenon in history. It is a humanity-wrecking, state-breaking, and civilisation-destroying force. It distorts society, debases history, and strikes at the roots of pluralism, and civility which are the foundations of statehood no less than of civilisation.

In stable times, its germs are found in the rough, outer crevices of society. Then, sectarianism exists as an unpleasant but tolerable irritation. But when the body politic is weak and vulnerable, sectarianism attacks it virulently. If a society fails to vigorously resist the initial onslaught, it usually gets engulfed in a catastrophic sequence of hatred and violence. In recent decades, we have witnessed this process of disaster and disintegration in Burundi, Colombia, Palestine/Israel, and Lebanon. It is now afflicting former Yugoslavia, and Armenia/Azerbaijan among others.

This disease began to seriously afflict Pakistan about a decade ago. Since then, it has spread to an alarming extent. In recent months alone, there have been sectarian, Sunni-Shia murders in Lahore, bombings and arson in Karachi, beatings and street fights in Rawalpindi, riots in Gilgit, and a virtual civil war in Jhang. Furthermore, Ahmadis have been harassed; and violence has been inflicted even upon hapless Christians in the rural area. Yet, the state has failed to arrest the spread of this malaise. Three consecutive governments have appeared unconcerned.

An escalation of this blight is expected during the coming month of Muharram. Traditionally, during this month Shias and Sunnis alike had commemorated—albeit in differing ways and with varying degrees of intensity—the martyrdom of Prophet Mohammed's family. The historic confrontation in Karbala had symbolised for all

Muslims the obligation to resist illegitimate authority, the virtue of principled sacrifice, and the sanctity of suffering in a just cause. But not any more. Sectarianism threatens to replace shared traditions with the exchange of acrimony. Old civilities are yielding to mutual abuse and communal violence.

The ominous signs are all over—in street graffiti which advocate sectarian hatred; on the stalls in the bazaar which surreptitiously sell cassettes of poisonous babbling by one Maulana or another; in the mosque where the ignorant mullah pronounces his indiscreet Fatwa or kufri; in those ill-serving book shops which ply books and pamphlets that preach unrestrained hatred of one community toward another. Much of the material in question—false history and poor theological polemic—is truly nauseous, and unworthy of being cited in civilised discourse.

Why did these sectarian movements emerge in this last decade? What is the future of sectarian culture in Pakistan? Why have the state and society been so slow in reacting to this obviously harmful development? There are several answers to the first question; here we offer only two:

First, religious sectarianism is an inevitable outcome of the policy of "Islamisation." When religion is pushed explicitly into politics, it inevitably becomes a currency of power. Those who can, deploy religion to mobilise support for themselves, and to undercut their actual or potential opponents. Religion then becomes an instrument of individual ambition, and aid to personal or group adventure in politics.

To verify this point, one needs only count the number of religion wielding newcomers in local and national politics since Zia's age of 'Islamisation' began. The most virulent hatemongers of today came into their own in the Zia era. The point deserving emphasis is that one religion becomes hard political currency, it has to be deployed, by means fair and foul, in the arena of political contestation. This process can inflict lasting damage to society and religion itself.

Complex religious systems are invariably pluralistic, i.e., they consist of competing denominations and sects whose theological disputes are rooted in history. When religion is introduced as a central factor in politics, myriads of fears and temptations are aroused among those various groups. Whose interpretation of the scripture shall define law? By which law shall the country be governed, and why? Which sect shall wield more power, and at whose expense? Thus, historical differences assume compelling, contemporary significance. Theological disputes become political and, often, violent.

Notably, one of the first recent sectarian political formations—the Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqh-i-Jafariyya (TNFJ)—emerged in response to 'Islamisation' which appeared to threaten Pakistan's Shia community with the imposition of Sunni laws. The Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba (ASS), the most virulent of the anti-Shia groups, followed upon TNFJ's heels.

Significantly, the ASS's stronghold is Jhang where Shia landowners have traditionally held power. Economic changes of the last three decades have, nevertheless, produced a new middle class which is compelled to compete with traditional power holders. The ASS's new middle class leaders appear determined to dislodge the old. The ideological environment of the 1980s encouraged them to deploy anti-Shia 'Islam' in their political battles.

Second, the regional environment has also, since the early eighties, favoured the growth of sectarianism. A battle for the Muslim soul (DAWN, April 14, 1991) began after the Iranian revolution in 1979. It has continued since, and become bloodier so that by now, it is more a battle of bodies than soul. There was a 'reason of state' behind this development: revolutionary Iran was perceived as a threat by the pro-American, 'Islamic' sultanates of the Gulf region.

They had cause to fear Iran. It is the most populous country in the region. It has had an imperial history, and contemporary ambition to match it. It is a rich, oil-producing country endowed with a more skilled manpower than any of its Arab neighbours. After the revolution, it had shaken off America's restraining influence, and started to proselyte the Muslim world into a new version of militant, anti-monarchist, anti-imperialist, and republican Islam. The politically frustrated, dignity-starved Arab masses were attracted to it.

To combat Iran's growing influence, the Gulf states led by Saudi Arabia promoted their brand of fundamentalist Islam which was largely Sunni and often, though not always explicitly, anti-Iran which translated locally as anti-Shia. After it had invaded Iran, secular Iraq joined the 'Islamic' crusade. It is widely believed that the ASS was at first funded by the Saudis; then Saddam Hussein stepped in. After the Gulf War, a period in which Iran also moderated its policies, the covert and sectarian proxy war has abated, but only a little.

What is the future of sectarian culture? The discernible trends are disturbing; they can be reversed only by a concerted state and societal effort. Consider two realities: the first, most disturbing reality is that our entire educational system has been thoroughly injected with sectarianism's germ; it has penetrated every level and nearly every subject from history to science. To rid of it shall take a massive effort at decontamination and reorganisation of curriculum.

Second, the eighties witnessed a dramatic proliferation of madaris which received generous government subsidies. To characterise these as medieval institutions is an insult to medieval Muslim civilisation. Their curricula bear little resemblance to Al-Azhar in the 12th, Zaituna in the 13th, or Qarawiyyin in the 14th centuries. They are unlikely to produce Al-Farabis, Ibn Sinas, or Amir Khusros. They have reduced Islam to a penal code, and our culture to a ritual of ablutions and prayers. Thousands of motivated youth who graduate from these institutions are men brought to the middle of the ford,

cut off both from the past and the future. They are the dry wood of the fires of sectarianism. They too have to be saved from our recent, rotten legacies.

Sectarianism is a slow motion plague. It is bad now but unless we stamp it out, it will get worse. The government ought to punish those who promote sectarian hatred. But

the state is in weak and corrupt hands; at best it will enforce law minimally. Old politics and politicians, both civil and military, have bequeathed the problem to us. They will not withdraw their cruel legacy. Pakistani society confronts the challenge alone. Does it have enough inner resources to produce a viable response? In the answer lies Pakistan's future.

Credibility Rating With World Bank Said Slipping*92AS1242H Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 92 p 15*

[Article by Shahid Kardar: "Tackling Structural Problems"]

[Text] Pakistan's credibility rating with its external donors is running rather low. Upset by the budget deficit run wild, the World Bank is reported to have expressed its inability to release the 250 dollar Public Sector Adjustment Loan (PSAL), for which negotiations had been held on several occasions over the last two years.

Similarly, the IMF is reportedly unwilling to entertain, in the near future, the government's request for a ESAF [Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility]. It is reported to be dissatisfied with the government's efforts to date to contain the budget deficit. It is asking for major additional resource mobilisation measures and a reduction in defence expenditure, so that the budget deficit can be brought down to a level of around 5 percent of GDP [gross domestic product]. Only after such a commitment becomes visible will Pakistan, in the opinion of the Fund, be in a position to qualify for applying for balance of payments support under ESAF.

Both the World Bank and the IMF are of the view that the size of the expenditure bill, including the development programme cannot be justified on the basis of the available resources. Furthermore, under their definition of the deficit, expenditures being financed by autonomous corporations like the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation (PTC) and OGDC [Oil and Gas Development Corporation], but guaranteed by the Government of Pakistan, should be treated as the government's debt and the expenditures should be taken into account for estimating the overall deficit for the fiscal year 1992-93.

The deficit would then look even more ominous than it already is at Rs[rupees]88 billion (already Rs 23 billion more than the Rs 65 billion given in Mr Sartaj Aziz's budget speech) if Rs 12.7 billion worth of expenditure by PTC and the National Highway Authority to be financed through deferred payments (suppliers credits) were also included in the determination of the deficit figure; contracts have been signed and the associated commitments have been made.

The argument underlying the inclusion of these expenditures in the estimation of the deficit is that if both the private sector and WAPDA were to compete for funds in domestic capital markets, WAPDA would have an advantage because of the government guarantee. If the government is of the opinion that WAPDA would be able to raise, on its own, the funds it requires for its investment programme, then it should not furnish these guarantees. As long as it continues to guarantee WAPDA and PTC debts these should be reflected under government debt.

Admittedly, both the World Bank and the IMF are being inconsistent in that they are only looking at the government

guaranteed debts of these corporations and not including debts of other state-owned enterprises also guaranteed by the government. The only rational, although rather difficult to defend, reason for these agencies adopting this treatment is that these corporations were singled out for this purpose when the IMF assistance programme was first drawn up in 1987-88. Nevertheless, as it is their opinion and their definitions which would hold sway, the Government of Pakistan (given the budgetary figures for 1992-93 available to date), will be guilty of a slippage of almost Rs 40 billion, resulting in an overall deficit of Rs 105 billion.

Unfortunately, the relationship with the World Bank has also been affected as a result of the government's inclusion, in the budgetary receipts for 1992-93, an estimate of 500 million dollars that in its view the Bank would provide over the next 3 years for the Social Action Programme. According to Press reports, the Bank is unhappy about this announcement from the government. It claims that it has made no such commitment, as no loan negotiations have been carried out formally, although rather preliminary discussions have been held on the nature of the programme and the strategies relating to its implementation. It is reported to have stated that the discussions on the potential size (given domestic resource availability) and donor assistance had not even started.

Can the government achieve the goals being set by the Fund? In the light of the discussions above the Government is clearly unable to achieve the targets being set by the IMF. Furthermore, in a situation characterised by a lack of national consensus on the legitimacy of the government to chalk out and implement rigorous belt-tightening measures, the answer must be a heavily qualified one. There is little hope that the IMF will come to the Government's rescue. The Finance Minister, understandably, finds himself in a rather awkward spot, facing a precariously situated balance of payments.

IMF and Bank money is direly needed to shore up the foreign exchange reserves reduced to 50 percent of the one billion dollars received in the shape of foreign currency deposits, in response to the government's exchange and payments reforms. But, without these funds from the IMF and the World Bank the government will have little choice but to raise more expensive, short-term commercial loans from the international capital markets. What, therefore, remains to be seen is whether the credit worthiness of the Government will enable it to raise, on a continuing basis, sufficiently large sums of money from abroad.

Government Economic Policies Seen Out of Touch*92AS1242I Karachi DAWN in English 25 Jun 92 p 13*

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "The Isolation of Islamabad"]

[Text] The government is under pressure from the World Bank and the IMF to raise for larger revenue resources to meet its growing current and development needs. And they as well as the Asian Development Bank want

government agencies, asking for large external loans to collect payment of their large bills, with the defaulting government departments as prime culprits.

They want the government to raise larger resources not only as large lenders to ensure steady repayment of the loans advanced by them but also to set the government on a steady fiscal track and save the country from getting deeper and deeper into the debt trap.

They want the larger resources to come as tax revenues instead of as borrowing from banks, the public or externally for good economic reasons. Unlike loans repayable with interest—Rs.[rupees] 93 billion to service the total debt of Rs 900 billion next year—the tax revenues will be recurring income every year. And there is assured scope for its growth, like the 49.4 percent growth in income tax revenues reported in the current financial year over last year.

These institutions also want the private sector entrepreneurs in Pakistan to raise larger resources from the public or through stock exchanges instead of borrowing excessively from banks and DFIs [Direct Foreign Investments] which have already a large bad or doubtful debt liability. If they raise larger capital from the public the corporate sector will not only have less of a debt burden, and possibly less of industrial sickness with far more persons than the banks watching its performance, but also more of profit sharing which creates a healthy society.

Although all the money they need is now available to good entrepreneurs, as the heavily over-subscribed shares testify, too many of them are reluctant to seek public capital. They do not want to be accountable to their shareholders or share the profits equitably with them nor be reporting regularly to the Corporate Law Authority even after it has become too liberal in giving its approval to new companies and old companies to raise larger capital from the public.

If the Centre needs far more resources than before now it is because the share of the provinces in the federally collected taxes is increasing steadily, following last year's National Finance Commission award [NFC]. If the provincial share last year was Rs 33.7 billion, it is Rs 58 billion this year and will be Rs 64.85 billion next year. So without additional taxation, the net federal revenues would have increased by only Rs 14 billion or about eight percent next year.

Hence the additional tax levy of Rs 17.5 billion. Even thereafter the Annual Development Programme had to be slashed finally by Rs 6.5 billion to reduce the budgetary deficit. But the problem with additional taxation is the higher the taxation the larger additional share of the province.

So the provinces can relax and get larger revenues by levying no additional taxes of their own, and incur no odium or face the resistance of the people. The NFC

award is a pretty good cul-de-sac for the provinces. Hence they have all come up with surplus budgets.

If the Centre is not able to raise larger resources without raising a storm of protest from the affected groups or stiff resistance, it is because the budgets are not well thought out. It is not enough if the government invites suggestions from various quarters, largely trade and industry and income tax advisers every year and then rejects most of them, if not all. They are rejected as most of them are demands for tax relief or suggestions for taxing others than themselves.

The Paper Cone Converters Association now resists the sales tax of 12.5 percent levied by the new budget and argues that the paper board mills of the Lahore region alone are evading taxes to the extent of Rs 46.7 million and they should be taxed in full instead of only 20 percent of their output. Even the paper cone makers have a big clout as they can paralyse the spinning mills by not supplying those cones and thereby paralyse the textile industry.

This is not the first time Faisalabad has given a rebuff to the Finance Minister, Mr Yasin Wattoo as Finance Minister in 1987 faced the same predicament. On that occasion, too, the Finance Ministry showed poor comprehension of the manner the textile industry there functioned.

Instead of merely asking for suggestions from trade and industry for the budget and ignoring most of them, the government ought to conduct proper research. And that research has to be done not in Islamabad alone but equally in the areas from where additional resources are to be raised.

Let it be clearly understood by the government that throughout the world the tendency today is towards tax reduction and this tendency is all the more pronounced in the rich countries. President George Bush contested elections promising not to increase taxes. And the economic leap of Britain under Margaret Thatcher was achieved through both privatisation and tax reduction. And only a few years ago there was a massive resistance to the three percent sales tax in Japan, and the government was forced to revise that.

The Centre could know the problems and perils of higher taxation if research on taxation was done not only in Islamabad but also in other major cities and industrial centres. For taxing the small scale industries the research should be done in Faisalabad, Sialkot, etc.

Between the federal planning or high hopes raised and the actual execution on the ground there is a vast difference. Industrialisation at Hub provides a good example. The people of Hub complain that though jobs have been given to 75 percent of the local workers, 90 percent of them are illegal emigrants from Bangladesh.

The story of Gadoon Amazai is not very different. Sweeping fiscal and monetary concessions were given to the investors there by the Centre. When industrialists in other parts of the country rose in protest and demanded annulment of the excessive discriminatory favours, some of them were withdrawn. That made the Gadoon investors protest, and now they do not want to pay import duties to the extent of about Rs 25 billion, and the Peshwar High Court has suspended the demand notices of the CBR [Central Board of Revenue] for payment of the import duties for which bank or insurance company guarantees were furnished.

Such problems arise when some decisions are taken on an ad hoc basis. Very little of actual monitoring of the implementation is done so that deviation from the original intent could be checked as it takes place, and not when it is impossible to reverse what had already been done.

The government has excellent institutions like the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) but instead of being confined to Islamabad it ought to have branch offices for research in industry, banking, commerce, etc., in places like Karachi.

In such an environment, a seminar on the impact of various administrative and economic reforms adopted by the government held by the Regional Institute of Management is reported to have approved those reforms. With mostly the officials participating, such approval was to be expected.

However, such a seminar should have been held in Karachi where the people are more familiar with the impact of the reforms than the officials in Islamabad. It is the private sector industries, banks and other organisations which are the beneficiaries or victims of the reforms. Hence, instead of holding seminars in Islamabad so frequently, the officials ought to meet the people, in other places, directly affected by the reforms and ascertain their reactions. Anyway it is too early to pronounce judgment on the reforms, including the manner in which they are being implemented and the results they are producing.

Indisputably, the government cannot get the best results from its research work in fiscal and industrial areas if that is confined to Islamabad, and if too many official seminars are held there. Unless they meet more of the critics, they cannot improve those policies.

Many of the reports, documents and other publications available in Islamabad, officially or otherwise, are not available in other parts of the country. And the government has done little over the years to make available such reports in other parts of the country even as priced publications.

Such isolation of Islamabad from the rest of the country and the absence of adequate two-way feedback has to be ended. If that is not done, federalism will continue to have serious setbacks and the government's policies will

be drawn up on the basis of inadequate information, and will face serious resistance from affected groups and will more or less fail.

Prospects for Debt Relief Seen Extremely Poor

92AS1242J Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jun 92 p 11

[Article by Shahid Kardar: "Bracing for Hard Times"]

[Text] Pakistan's balance of payments position has been under strain for a long time. The low level of foreign exchange reserves has become a perennial feature. Today they are barely able to cover 3 weeks imports of goods and services and clearly inadequate for the short-term liabilities of around 4 billion dollars.

That the deficits are endemic is borne out by the fact that the current account deficit is projected to touch 2.8 billion dollars by June 1992, up from 2.2 billion dollars at the end of June 1991. The situation today leaves little doubt that the government will soon be knocking at the doors of the IMF for additional funds to bail it out of the current crisis.

Although the level of exchange reserves rose from 287 million dollars in April 1991 to around 580 million dollars in April 1992, this improvement is not based on the earning of foreign exchange the hard way. It is the result of the piling up of more foreign debt, partly owing to increased reliance on short-term funds to balance the account and partly because of the growth in foreign currency deposits, following the liberalisation of the foreign exchange system by the Nawaz Sharif government. This has made the government more vulnerable to external pressure and rendered its bargaining position weaker. For a tottering economy sunk in debt few are sure what the future holds.

On the external trade front, the environment in which Pakistan has to survive has become more uncertain of late. World trading conditions, on which the success of the government's liberalisation strategy partly depends, have not picked up. In view of the depth of the recession and the virtual collapse of the GATT talks there is the looming threat of protectionism.

It would, therefore, be premature to expect a strong improvement in the prospects of exports in the immediate future. In any case, Pakistan hardly has the range of exports to face any recession with confidence. Nor can a country with a huge illiterate labour force and an industrial set-up encouraged by high protective barriers hope to achieve much by way of diversification in exports.

While the international lending agencies do not tire of advising developing countries to open up their markets to imports, the mentors of the dispensers of such advice, the developed countries, continue to maintain an extensive network of discriminatory trade practices and balk at any attempt to make trade fairer.

Hence, the paradox that while the developing countries from Latin America to South East Asia and the former communist countries are being asked to place their faith in free markets and made to hurdle, blind-folded, towards market mechanism, they find themselves, in particular the domestic producers in Eastern Europe (Poland and Czechoslovakia provide excellent examples in this regard), less protected from external competition than their counterparts in most European countries, which continue to operate behind high trade barriers.

This discussion raises the question whether debtor countries like Pakistan can grow out of their undebtedness by hitching their wagons to the engine of world trade?

The technological advance resulting in the development of synthetic substitutes and the dematerialisation of industrial inputs has meant that the developed world has a reduced need for the raw materials of the developing world, petroleum being the single important exception. Therefore, these countries have largely served their historic purpose as suppliers of raw materials. Nor does the industrial world need the Third World as a reservoir of cheap labour, the view held by many left-of-centre economists.

Cheap labour was important primarily during colonial rule when agricultural raw materials and minerals were required for industries in the developed world, technologies were rudimentary and labour was a significant component of the cost of production. Today, however, the reality is that little foreign investment has been attracted to the Third World. Large invasions of people wanting to enter the developed world is the more enduring fear today.

Also, the poor of the developing countries are of little interest from the point of view of marketing; these countries are not as attractive a market as most of us in the Third World would want to believe.

The government's liberalisation strategy, although well directed, is premised on the assumption that the recent economic reforms will attract a lot of foreign investment. In this regard as well the government cannot be sanguine about such a turn of events in the near future. It will take time for investor confidence to develop, especially considering the opportunities available worldwide. Also, international capital markets have tightened considerably over the past years.

The Finance Minister, therefore, appears to have overstated the extent to which the budget could impact upon the nature of the imbalances that threaten the economy. Growth prospects will continue to remain depressed unless there is perceptible revival of both domestic and foreign markets.

So much for the prospects of higher exports. What are the chances for a perceptible increase in both commitments and disbursements from official sources?

The World Bank and the IMF had provided a short-term breathing space on fulfilling performance criteria. However, donor assistance is no longer forthcoming readily, partly because of poor compliance with policy conditionalities and partly because of the government's inability to provide the counterpart rupees (in view of the soaring budgetary deficit) required for the capital investment in different projects. The long-term net inflow of capital of approximately 1 billion dollars in 1990-91 was 9 percent lower.

Donors are also expressing their dissatisfaction and reservations about the government's ability, if not willingness, to implement the necessary changes. Further financial support would be contingent upon the fulfilment of the performance criteria, the strengthening and streamlining of the arrangements and procedures for monitoring the government's performance and the display of greater commitments to investments in the social sectors. The government has, therefore, been put on probation by foreign creditors.

Whereas, as mentioned above, the flow of direct foreign investment will remain halting and fitful the availability of private foreign capital in other forms will not be sufficient to fill the gap which is estimated to be of the order of 180 million dollars by June 1992. The deficit will therefore have to be financed by expensive short-term borrowings and deposits and by seeking help from the IMF, with all the stringent conditionalities that are attached to this assistance.

Furthermore, according to an estimate, the debt servicing costs are expected to jump up to 2.3 billion dollars by the end of June 1994. This will be happening at a time when official sources for external funds will begin to decline more sharply in real terms. The future of external economic assistance looks rather bleak. When we look around we find that the prospects for the 1990s do not look suspicious. On the one hand commercial bank lending to developing countries has almost completely dried up—it is 24 billion dollars out of 356 billion dollars of new international bank lending—and on the other hand there has been a decline in the capital flows to countries like Pakistan, predating the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe. Even the conditional indication to provide assistance of 2.3 billion dollars made at the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium meeting last week by donor agencies and countries other than United States are, in real terms, almost what they had offered way back in 1987-88, such has been the nature of transformation of the aid scenario. The events in Eastern Europe have merely accelerated this decline in capital inflows.

Even the prospects for debt relief are rather poor. Reasonable arguments about the mutual advantages of debt relief have fallen on deaf ears, even in the United States a large proportion of whose trade is with developing countries. Thus, it appears, that the reliance on short-term private borrowings to satisfy capital needs will increase. The change in the composition of the debt will not only push up the average rate of interest on external

debt but also result in the narrowing of the maturity periods. But then any accountant will tell you that it is not advisable to build up huge financial commitments, on the basis of short-term debts, to tackle what are essentially long-term and structural problems. In other words, self-reliance has to become the main item on the agenda for development simply for economic and societal survival. The situation to date, however, is hardly the reflection of a country claiming to be heading towards self-reliance.

Exports Said To Approach 7 Billion Dollars

92AS1242A Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] Karachi, June 28—Pakistan exports are likely to touch the seven billion dollar mark this year, Export Promotion Bureau (EPB) sources said here on Sunday.

EPB sources said that last year, Pakistani exports were to the tune of six billion dollars. So far, Pakistan has exported goods worth 6.14 billion dollars till May, 1992, and is expected to add about around 700 to 750 million dollars in the existing exports value by the end of July. Last month, Pakistani exports valued to 711 million dollars.

They said that the expected value of total exports this year would be around 6.9 to 7 billion dollars, showing an increase of 15 percent over the last year.

They said that for the next year, the government has set an increase of 15 percent in the target.

The sources said that the total amount could have crossed the export target by at least 500 to 1,000 million dollars or by 25 percent had the prices of cotton in the world market remained the same to the last year level.

Another reason was the decrease in the value of rice exports to Middle Eastern countries.—APP

Shortcomings Seen in New Trade Policy

92AS1263I Karachi DAWN in English 3 Jul 92 p 11

[Editorial: "New Trade Policy"]

[Text] The Trade Policy for 1992-93 announced by the Minister of Commerce on Tuesday aims at carrying forward the process initiated earlier of achieving sustained economic growth led by exports and lessening dependence on uncertain and conditions-ridden foreign loans. Three components of the policy—diversification of industrial products, incentives for export and liberalisation, and deregulation of imports to encourage industrial surpluses for export—are specifically directed towards realising this objective. These components are the logical requirement for the implementation of the export-led economic growth policy. Today 70 per cent of Pakistan's export earnings are derived only from rice, cotton and cotton-based products. Our export efforts are also concentrated on a limited number of destinations. About half of our total exports are destined to only six

countries. Unless we bring about structural change in our export package and produce goods that are competitive in both quality and prices, achieving a sizable expansion in export is just not possible. Similarly, greater stimulants are required to promote intensive efforts to compete in increasing number of markets. And for all that, the wherewithal in the form of machinery and raw material needs to be made available without restrictions and obstacles. This is what the Trade Policy, within limited resources available, aims to provide.

The Commerce Minister has picked up, on the basis of their performance and potential, five new industries—surgical, sports goods, cutlery, footwear and wood-work—for special treatment. The facility of zero-rated import of machinery, spares and accessories, allowed so far to the value-adding textile and leather industries, has been extended to these five industries. In addition, these are also exempted from Iqra surcharge and licence fee. However, in case of footwear industry, the availability of this concession will be contingent on exporting 25 per cent of the unit's production during the first three years and 50 per cent subsequently. The scheme of Export Processing Units (EPU), designed to ensure the availability of imported inputs at internationally neutral prices to the value-adding industries, has been further liberalised, making it more practical. Instead of the present condition of exporting 70 per cent of the production, beginning with the very first year, the export target for such units has been reduced to 50 per cent during the first two years and 60 per cent in subsequent years.

In order to encourage the establishment of new export-oriented industries, the government has decided, as announced earlier, to set up special industrial zones having all basic facilities, namely land, water, electricity, gas, telecommunications and fiscal incentives. These industries will be required to export 60 per cent of their output and have at least 40 per cent foreign investment. To facilitate easy availability of accessories and raw material and to overcome occasional shortages, bond storage period has been extended from the existing one year to two years. Additionally, processing of raw material from outside the bond has been allowed subject to existing restrictions. The Raw Materials Replenishment (RMR) scheme has been further refined—the period of redemption of previous liabilities has been extended.

Textiles are Pakistan's main export, constituting about 51 per cent of the total, but these and their products are subject to quota restrictions and strict surveillance. Earning from this source can be enhanced only by moving up the quality ladder and fetching more value per unit. A beginning is being made with the encouragement of production of high-count yarn for which import of combing machinery is allowed at zero duty, with Iqra surcharge and licence fee exempted. Duty on the export of yarn above 40 counts is halved and of that above 60 counts reduced to only 16 per cent.

Despite various incentives, fiscal and others, export of fruit and vegetables has not yet come up to the expectation. In order to realise their potential, the policy provides for duty draw-back on packing material, to be fixed later, and live plants and seeds have been allowed to be imported free of duty, surcharge, sales tax and licence fee. There is already a concessional freight available for farm product. Additional rebate of 25 per cent in freight has been provided if these are shipped by national carriers. These incentives should help in the promotion of exports of these items.

Gradual liberalisation and deregulation have been under way for several years but these have not reduced the strain on our balance of trade. This year, the deficit has considerably increased to 2.2 billion dollars, as a result only of a 21 per cent rise in imports as against a 14-per cent increase in exports. A rise in the former was due to a higher level of import of machinery to meet the demand of an accelerated industrialisation process. The policy is silent on engineering industry which should have received special attention at a time when industrialisation is gaining momentum. In fact, there is a genuine fear that a policy of liberal import of machinery may throttle the nascent engineering industry. This needs to be looked into immediately. The exemption of exporting industries from the operation of labour laws may give rise to new disputes and sour management-labour relations. Competitive capability of our industries is eroded by kickbacks on machinery imports and increased energy charges.

Easy and profitable destinations for export are always the neighbouring countries. Pakistan cannot realise its full potential in international trade unless the meaning of this basic law of exchange is fully grasped.

Unfortunately, Pakistan's trade with its neighbours is very poor. The state of our relations with our neighbour in the east may not permit a significant level of exchanges. But our trade with Iran is not very satisfactory either, despite an economic cooperation arrangement for over three decades. And with the Arabian Peninsula nations, though trade is substantial, it is not commensurate with our potential and their demand. In the north, we have best of relations with China but these are not reflected in our trade with that country. New markets of Central Asia have opened up but we are not equipped to take full advantage of the new opportunities. Our access to these countries is hampered by disturbed conditions in Afghanistan. Let us hope things will settle down there soon, allowing us to make profitable trade deals with the countries in the region.

Over 60 Billion Rupees Said Paid in Interest

92AS1255B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
21 Jun 92 p 4

[News Report: "Over 64 Billion Rupees Paid in Interest Last Year"]

[Text] Islamabad (APP) The federal government had to pay interest worth 64.6 billion rupees to other countries during the 1991-92 fiscal year. This is 31.3 percent higher than the corresponding figure for the 1990-91 fiscal year. According to government sources, there have been increases in interest payments of 23.4 percent on domestic loans and 19.3 percent on foreign loans. There has been more of an increase in federal and state loan services than in the gross national product [GNP]. The GNP increase in 1990-91 was 7.2 percent. This increased to 7.7 percent in 1991-92. A total of 6.5 billion rupees were borrowed from banks in 1991-92, which is 48.7 percent less than the corresponding 1990-91 figure. When compared to the gross national product, deficit spending in 1984-85 was 4 percent, which has fallen to 0.55 percent in 1991-92. During the coming fiscal year, loans will form 61.9 percent of the total deficit. This is made up of 50.9 percent from foreign banks and 11 percent from national banks. During 1990-91, there was a total of 229.98 billion rupees, which is 27.7 percent higher than it was the previous year.

New Trade Policy To Provide More Incentives

92AS1242B Karachi DAWN in English 1 Jul 92
pp 1, 12

[Article by Nasir Malik: "More Incentives for Exports: \$8 Bn Target"]

[Text] Islamabad, June 30—The Federal Government on Tuesday announced a liberal package of import liberalisation and export incentives for non-traditional items—reduction of export duty on cotton yarn, removal of 21 items from the negative list, and freight subsidy for fruit, vegetable and ceramic exports—in its trade policy for fiscal 1992-93 starting July 1, 1992.

Announcing the policy on radio and television, Minister for Commerce Malik Naeem Khan said that exports had been projected at 8 billion dollars in 1992-93, an increase of 15 percent over 1991-92 while the imports had been placed at 9.9 billion dollars as compared to 9.2 billion dollars for 1991-92.

The Minister said that the policy was based on liberalisation, privatisation and deregularisation, which were the key instruments designed to remove obstacles from the path of development.

He pointed out that the government was providing unprecedented support for a sustained growth in exports and liberalising the import regime in the national interest, despite real constraints.

He said "we deem it absolutely essential to develop the capacity to pay for our ever-increasing import requirements from own resources instead of looking for charity and assistance from others."

Detailing the export incentives, Malik Naeem Khan said the export duty on cotton yarn above 40 count would be reduced by 50 percent—from the present Rs[rupees]4 to

Rs 2 per kilogram. However, import duty on cotton yarn of 60 count and above has been reduced from 50 per cent to total incidence of 16 percent.

He said in order to boost export of farm products, exporters of fresh fruits and vegetables would be allowed facility of duty drawback on the packing material at a rate to be fixed by the government besides a freight subsidy up to 25 percent of the actual freight paid on their exports, provided these goods were sent through PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] or PNSC [Pakistan National Shipping Corporation] vessels. This facility, he said, would be admissible over and above the special freight rates for fruits and vegetables.

Similarly, the Commerce Minister said, to boost production of high count yarn, import of combing machines would be allowed at zero custom duty, five percent Iqra surcharge and six percent import licence fee. Besides, facility of deferred payment of Iqra surcharge would be available for two years.

Malik Naeem said the facility of zero rated import of machinery, spare- parts, accessories which were allowed to the textile and leather industries in the past would be extended to surgical goods, sports goods and cutlery industries. Sports and surgical goods and cutlery industries have been allowed import of identifiable machinery, spares and accessories free of Iqra surcharge and import licence fee. The import of these machineries is already exempted from custom duty. To encourage re-export of imported goods, the Minister said it has been decided to allow three way merchant trading through back-to-back L/Cs [Letters of Credit] in crude oil, wheat, rubber, cotton, sugar, tea and fertiliser for re-export. The details of this facility would be announced by the Commerce Minister later.

Malik Naeem said to promote furniture industry, import of seasoning plants required by wood/furniture industry would be exempted from all kinds of duties and licence fee. Besides 75 percent of the income from the export of furniture, doors and windows would be exempted from income tax.

He said import of synthetic stones and base metal clad with silver used in imitation jewellery would be allowed at only five percent net duty.

To expand the operational and under-writing capacity of the export credit guarantee scheme, the capital base would be increased from the existing Rs 30 million to Rs 500 million. However, the Minister said the enhanced level would be achieved over a period of five years by providing Rs 100 million every year.

For re-export of dry fruits, imported from Afghanistan, would be allowed against submission of a bank guarantee equivalent to the value of customs duty, Iqra surcharge and sales tax, he said.

The Minister also announced a number of concessions for footwear industry. He said import of footwear

machinery, spares and accessories would be allowed without payment of customs duty, Iqra surcharge and licence fee provided 25 percent of the production of a unit was exported in the first three years and 50 percent in the subsequent years.

IMPORTS: The Minister said while 21 items had been removed from the negative list for imports, it had been decided to allow import of lubricating oils, mineral oils and greases in accordance with the specifications of the Petroleum Ministry.

Import of second-hand travelling rugs, blankets and footwear has also been allowed and banks and security companies have been allowed to import armoured security vans subject to certain specific conditions.

Malik Naeem said advance import licences would be issued for import of machinery under BMR [expansion not given] for an amount equivalent to the unit's entitlement for three years with the conditions that L/Cs against such advance import licence would be opened during a particular year for an amount not exceeding the prescribed entitlement in that year.

Other features of the import regime are:

- Industrial and commercial importers would be allowed to import industrial raw material at uniform rate of duty and taxes.
- Import of three chemicals used in the manufacture of drugs has been restricted to the industrial consumer concerned only, and to prevent health hazards, import of asbestos has also been restricted to industrial consumer only.
- Import licence for items other than machinery with initial validity of 12 months have been extended for two years on additional payment of 0.25 percent of the unutilised value of the licences for each six months. Similarly in case of machinery, import licences have been made extendable to three years from the date of expiry of initial validity of similar terms.
- Raw materials for further processing from outside the bond have been permitted on the basis of existing controls used for exports.
- Bond storage period for imported accessories has been extended from the existing one year to two years. For raw material and accessories imported free of cost or on credit, the bond storage period will be three years. Accessories/raw materials not used will be allowed to be re-exported in their original form.

The minister said the raw material replenishment scheme had been improved and deficiencies remedied. He said requirements of import permit for imports of freely importable items under SRO [statutory rules and order] 68,69 and 722 had been abolished.

Malik Naeem said in order to streamline the scheme of Export Processing Unit (EPU), designed for ensuring

availability of imported inputs at internationally neutral prices to the value-adding industries, instead of the present condition that at least 70 percent of the production should be exported from the first year, it had now been decided that a unit would be eligible for EPU scheme if 50 percent of its product was exported in the first two years and 60 percent in the third year and beyond.

Malik Naeem said there was a need for bringing about structural change in the composition of the export package as 70 percent of export earnings were derived from rice and cotton or its manufactures. Further, half of Pakistani export, he said, were destined for only six countries. While calling upon the exporters to increase the quantum of value-added goods, he said services would have to be built into the products.

Expressing his satisfaction over the exports, he said despite adverse external environment, exports during the last 11 months of the calendar year touched the level of US\$6,140 million, registering a growth rate of 14 percent. He hoped that the government would be able to achieve a growth rate of 15 percent by the end of year.

He said although textile products registered a growth rate of 18 percent, earnings from yarn declined by seven percent.

The Minister said the export of tents, canvas, tanned leather, fruits and vegetables showed a declining trend during the current fiscal year.

The Commerce Minister said the import bill in the first 11 months of this year represented an increase of 20 percent amounting to US\$8,399 million due to substantial increase in the import of capital machinery which at US\$2,299 million was 59 percent more as compared to last fiscal year.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET: The Federal Cabinet which met here today under the chairmanship of Prime Minister, Mr Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the Trade Policy was approved by the Federal Cabinet on Tuesday.

The Cabinet approved the Foreign Exchange Budget estimates for 1992-93. The reserve movements had been considered satisfactory to maintain the productivity of the economy.

The Cabinet directed that all-out efforts should continue to be made to strengthen balance of payments to achieve self-reliance in the external sector. The management of aggregate demand should be strengthened by containing the overall fiscal deficit of 4.8 percent of GDP [gross domestic product]. Moreover, the monetary expansion during 1992-93 should also remain behind the growth in the targeted nominal GDP. The Cabinet further directed that stability in the exchange rate should be achieved by reducing the inflation to six percent in the next fiscal year.

Funds Promised to Sindh Said Nonexistent

92AS1242G Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 92
pp 1, V

[Article by Ihtasham Ul Haque: "Official Doubts Over Source of Remaining Funds"]

[Text] While Operation Clean-up is in full swing in Sindh, the authorities of the Ministry of Finance are extremely worried as to how to provide Rs[rupees] five billion—announced by the prime minister—to "heal the wounds of the people of that tension-ridden province."

Since the government had not announced any proposed allocation in the budget for this purpose, the authorities of the ministry are reportedly unable to sort out the matter.

Sources said that the officials are also disturbed as to how to provide the overall Rs 15 billion announced by the prime minister for the province. Rs 10 billion were announced during Mr. Nawaz Sharif's tour of Sindh in 1991 before the budget. Although the amount was subsequently adjusted in the budget, so far only Rs one billion has been offered to that province. Late Chief Minister Jam Sadiq is on record [as] having said that the federal government had not provided that amount of Rs 10 billion to him to spend on the uplift of the common man.

Only Rs 1 Billion

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif himself admitted two weeks ago in the Prime Minister House before newsmen that out of Rs 10 billion, only Rs 1 billion had been disbursed. He was of the view that the government had kept Rs 2.5 billion for the year 1991 but the provincial government did not use that amount and that the allocation of Rs 10 billion was for four years and not for any short period.

Sources said that so far, officials have failed to point out from which head they can provide the Rs 5 billion about which the Sindh government is repeatedly asking in order to start some projects specially to offer jobs to the people of Sindh.

While no government official is prepared to talk on record about this issue, only the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mian Abdus Sattar Laleka, has said last week during his press conference that the government would arrange this amount at any cost. When repeatedly questioned that there was no budgetary provision for such amount he said, "this is a very serious and sensitive issue and we will arrange it very soon."

The government believed that once it offered a package deal that ensures the socio-economic betterment of the people of Sindh, the situation in the province would start improving to a major extent. Leader of the opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, was the first to call for such a package during her speech to the National Assembly on the Sindh situation.

Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz—during his concluding budget speech—had also talked about the issue and promised that the wounds of Sindh will be healed by providing certain economic incentives to the people of the province. Later, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif undertook a detailed visit of the province and finally announced the amount of Rs five billion in this behalf.

One of the officials of the Ministry of Finance when approached said he did not know why the Prime Minister announced a fund every now and then when the treasury does not permit it. In this regard, the senior official—who did not like to be identified—also narrated an incident.

He said some few weeks ago, a delegation of Financial Consultants of Muslim countries visited Islamabad and desired to call on the prime minister. The prime minister in the first place declined to meet the delegation, saying that he did not know for what purpose the delegation was in the capital and that if he met them, they might ask for a donation. When the prime minister was told that the delegation was composed of financial consultants and experts who could help suggest some measures to improve the Pakistani economy, he decided to meet them. During the hour long meeting, when one of the Turkish consultants started saying that they were facing financial constraints in suggesting any meaningful study for the benefit of Islamic countries, the generous prime minister announced before the delegation an amount of US\$50,000 and other help if and when needed by those experts.

The economic crush is being felt by all concerned in various ministries—for which many exercises have been undertaken to suggest remedial measures. Although the government has received various suggestions to extensively cut non-development expenditure, there is no implementation programme in the offing.

Experts say that the government should do some practical work instead of resorting to it as usual gimmicks and rhetoric.

They are of the view that instead of declaring and arranging the overall Rs 14 billion for Sindh without any preposition, it should launch certain projects in Sindh wherein jobless Sindhis could be provided jobs. For example, experts say that labour intensive projects like motorways and highways could be initiated and money to be provided in piecemeal.

Promising Plans

The officials also doubt that the prime minister's economic package of providing employment of 1,500 doctors, 1,000 engineers, 1,500 graduates of agriculture and animal husbandry, 1,000 posts-graduates in science and humanities besides 10,000 teachers and lower staff in 500 schools, could be implemented in next two year time. They maintained that since the government is not financially sound and that its budgetary gap continues to widen, it was not possible to arrange at least Rs 3 billion

within next two years—over and above the budgetary allocations already made for the province.

The prime minister's package also included the development of 800 water supply and drainage schemes costing Rs 1 billion, electrification of 900 villages at a cost of Rs 1 billion and construction of 1,500 farm to market roads at a cost of Rs 1 billion. There is an additional health plan for Sindh announced by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to doctors and other categories that would require another Rs 1 billion.

Nevertheless sources said that at present, the treasury is almost empty specially after the failure of collecting even half of the taxes of current financial year. They said that as a matter of fact, the government urgently needed to improve its recovery position so as to allocate additional funds for development activities specially on the healing of wounds of Sindh province.

The question is that if this Rs 15 billion will be over and above what is available for development for other provinces in the normal course then it could be a welcoming gesture, otherwise it would amount to simply playing to the galleries for short-term political gains.

Sindh Said Not Receiving Allocated Development Funds

92AS1242F Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 92
pp I, V

[Article by M. Sabihuddin Ghausi: "Question Mark Hangs Over Government's Promises of Rupees 24 Billion for Sindh"]

[Text] Implementation of the socio-economic package in the unfortunate province of Sindh—which, according to a rough estimate, involves a total outlay of over Rupees 24 billion—remains a big question mark.

It is a question mark because neither the concerned Ministers are available either at their offices or at their homes, nor are the bureaucrats and planners ready to discuss how the programmes would be implemented.

Enquiries made with bureaucrats revealed that the commitments made by Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif during his visits to Sindh during the last 18 months now involve a total sum of Rupees 24 billion.

In his first visit to Sindh in the last week of December 1990, the Prime Minister announced a sum of Rupees 10 billion for the Tameer-e-Sindh programme. He also announced a grant of Rupees 7 billion for completion of water supply, sewerage and communications projects in Karachi at a big public meeting at Liaquatabad organised by the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement].

Then, early this year, Federal Commerce Minister Malik Mohammad Naim Khan announced a scheme to provide loans to urban and rural entrepreneurs for which the DFIs [Direct Foreign Investment] were expected to give assistance. Total amount was indicated to be Rupees 1-2

billion and even a committee comprising the officials of federal and provincial governments was also formed.

Finally, last month when the Prime Minister again visited Sindh, he announced a development grant of Rupees 5 billion. Later in regular briefings, a senior army officer revealed that this socio-economic package has been recommended by the Chief of Army Staff, General Asif Nawaz.

Tardy Disbursement

Out of this total commitment of Rupees 24 billion, the total government has provided only a sum of hardly Rupees 1.5 billion. Sindh received Rupees 605 million before the beginning of 1991-92 fiscal year—of which Rupees 400 million was given to local bodies institutions including KMC and HMC [expansions not given]. In the current fiscal year—which is ending in three days—the federal government is reported to have provided only Rupees 1,088 million.

The Federal Government had promised to provide Rupees 2.5 billion for the Tameer-e-Sindh programme during 1991-92 which was mentioned in the federal budget documents and reiterated by the Sindh's Finance Minister, Mr. Liaqat Ali Jatoi, in his budget speech last year. Officials revealed that the original schedule of this Rupees 10 billion grant disbursement was to give Sindh a sum of Rupees 3.3 billion in 1991-92.

As against this original commitment of Rupees 3.3 billion, the federal government provided only Rupees 2.54 billion and actually disbursed Rupees 1.08 billion in three instalments. During 1992-93, the federal government is expected to provide Rupees 2.5 billion under this programme.

On its part, the Sindh government utilised Rupees 240 million from the Tameer-e-Sindh Programme for the acquisition of two helicopters, one of which has been placed at the disposal of VIPs. There is no report on how the remaining amount was utilised.

Sindh Finance Minister, Mr. Liaqat Ali Jatoi, in his 1992-93 budget speech, announced his government's intention to pursue with Islamabad for the release of over Rupees 7 billion funds promised by the Prime Minister for Karachi development projects.

No one in the Sindh government is ready to answer as to what steps have been taken to persuade Islamabad for the release of fund needed to be completed by the MQM-controlled local bodies institutions.

Similarly, there are no indications whether any projects are being prepared for the utilisation of promised Rupees 5 billion funds. Officials do say that some initial exercises were made and the relevant departments were asked to prepare schemes. But what has come out of these exercises so far remains a question mark.

Officials, however, reveal that the employment generation scheme in Sindh has been given a shape and it was

ready for a formal launching—had there been no change in the political scene of this province.

According to these officials, the employment generation scheme—which was to be launched with the support of banks and DFIs—envisaged a provision of Rupees 1 million loan to urban and rural entrepreneurs.

Planners and technocrats are reported to have worked out schemes for installation of shuttleless looms, food projects and agro-based industries. An initial allocation of Rupees 250 million was reported to have been made, the utilisation of which would have been the setting up of at least 250 small-sized units in urban areas. In the next phase, the amount was expected to be raised to Rupees 500 million.

Planners and technocrats are reported to be working to identify the absorbing potential of the promised funds and had also suggested the setting up of a monitoring agency to oversee the judicious utilisation of these funds.

In addition to these funds, the government was reported to have approached Karachi industrialists for investing in the development of private industrial zones near Karachi, Hyderabad and other urban areas. In Karachi, a group of local industrialists has worked out among themselves the development of such a zone on the Super Highway for which the initial cost was indicated at Rupees 155 to Rupees 170 per square yard.

According to the plans, the employment generation scheme and the setting up of private industrial zone near Karachi were to be announced at the time of presentation of 1992-93 budget in the last week of May. But for unknown reasons, these schemes were held back and were not announced.

Some of the officials believe that it would perhaps be easier to implement these schemes and utilise the development grants "administratively." How it is going to be done is yet to be seen.

While the Prime Minister was more than generous in making promises for development grants for Sindh, in practice the flow of the funds has been reduced substantially.

Sindh received the first blow from the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Government when the Special Development Programme [SDP] was scrapped without any valid reason.

The SDP was a part of the Seventh Five-Year Plan which was approved with the consensus of the representatives of all the provinces at the National Economic Forum [NEF]. Sindh was expected to get a share of over Rupees 7 billion under the SDP envisaging development in the most backward area of the country—Tharparkar; and water supply, sewerage, transport and communications projects in Karachi. This programme was scrapped in the third year of its implementation leaving the Sindh planners bewildered.

Another major blow for Sindh has been the award of the National Finance Commission [NFC] announced in early 1991. The NFC award has reduced Sindh's share by scaling down the population ratio; whereas actually the population growth rate is higher than all the provinces because of the unending influx of people from Punjab and the NWFP [North West Frontier Province]. Sindh's plea for taking into account its revenue generation capacity, which is the highest in Pakistan, for distribution of the resources was completely ignored. Sindh further requests for taking into account the highest urbanisation rate and having the most backward areas for providing funds which were not considered by the NFC.

These factors have been ignored for the last 20 years—since the time Sindh province was restored after the abolition of the One Unit. The consequences are now more than apparent.

Sindh Budget Facing 1 Billion Rupee Deficit

92AS1263J Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English
4 Jul 92 p 1

[Article by M. Sabihuddin Ghausi: "Sindh's Surplus Budget May End Up With Rs. 1 Billion Deficit"]

[Text] Serious doubts are being expressed about the Sindh Finance Minister Mr Liaqat Ali Jatoi's claim that the provincial budget for 1992-93 will show a revenue surplus of Rupees 1.61 billion. Many experts believe it may in fact end up in deficit of more than Rupees 1 billion.

While presenting the budget on May 27 last, Mr Jatoi projected revenue expenditure at Rupees 21.75 billion as against expected receipts of Rupees 23.36 billion during the next fiscal year.

One of the main receipt sources mentioned in the budget documents is the expected availability of Rupees 1.96 billion from the recovery of loans given by the Sindh government. Experts doubt that the Sindh government will be able to recover even a fraction of this amount—as these loans have been given to local bodies institutions, transport organisations and civic agencies which for last many years have been defaulting on instalments.

Rs 5 Bn Bill

According to details, the 10 or so institutions had taken loans of more than Rupees 1.5 billion several years. Owing to accumulated interest of more than Rupees 3 billion, the total payable amount is now about Rupees 5 billion.

This includes a sum of Rupees 700 million given to the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation [KMC] many years ago but is reported to have been adjusted from the property tax collected by the Sindh government.

The KMC is the only institution which has adjusted the outstanding loans. Other institutions like the Hyderabad

Municipal Corporation [HMC], Hyderabad Development Authority [HDA], Karachi Development Authority [KDA], Sindh Sugar Corporation [SSC], Karachi Transport Corporation KTC], Sindh Road Transport Corporation [SRTC] are not expected to pay back their loans.

Interestingly, the biggest defaulter of the Sindh government is the Karachi Development Authority (KDA)—considered to be a gold mine for every government and administrator. KDA is reported to owe a total amount of more than Rupees 2.6 billion to the Sindh government against a loan of about Rupees 1.4 billion.

The Hyderabad Development Authority (HDA) has to pay the Sindh government a sum of more than Rupees 1 billion against an original loan amount of Rupees 60 million. Interestingly, the Sindh government is reported to have helped the HDA in clearing its electricity power bill with WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] and provided a sum of about half a million rupees.

Expenditure Excesses

There is also a pending loan against the Karachi Transport Corporation which has now to pay about Rupees 85 million. Another major defaulter is the Sindh Sugar Corporation which owes over Rupees 11 million to the Sindh government. Experts believe that there is hardly one of these institutions which can pay back the loan amount or even an instalment and there seems to be no possibility of the Sindh budget showing any surplus in the 1992-93 budget.

Besides this hard reality reflected in the budget in a very pronounced manner, experts believe that expenditure projections are bound to grow. In all probability, the expenditure provided for the law and order at Rupees 2.36 billion could increase to more than Rupees 3 billion by the end of the year because of obvious factors.

Even in the current fiscal year of 1991-92, the Sindh government had originally provided a sum of Rupees 1.79 billion which finally increased to more than Rupees 2.75 billion in the revised estimates. The allocated sum of Rupees 2.36 billion for 1992-93 is less than the revised estimate of 1991-92. Taking into consideration the inflation factor alone, the cost of maintenance of law and order is bound to increase substantially.

An open indicator of the possibility of increase in law and order expenditure is the deployment of armed forces in Sindh. The army deployment is a pretty capital intensive drill. Details of this expenditure are never known because deductions are made in Islamabad from Sindh's share of funds.

Another reason for the possible deficit in the budget is the absence of the cushion provided in the 1991-92 budget.

During the year 1991-92 which has ended on June 30 last, the financial managers—in clear contravention of the much trumpeted award given by the National Finance Commission (NFC)—allocated a total amount of over Rupees 19 billion for current expenditure. The NFC award has estimated a benchmark expenditure allocation of Rupees 17 billion for the year 1991-92.

While making the budget, the financial managers made block allocations for every sector.

When the 1992-93 budget was presented, Mr Jatoi also sought the approval of about Rupees 2 billion supplementary expenditure for the year 1991-92. Bulk of this supplementary current expenditure has been absorbed by block allocations.

According to experts, block allocations should not be made in respect of current expenditure.

Due to the resource crunch, the financial managers of the province could not make any provision for block allocations in the 1992-93 budget. The departments will have to remain content with whatever is given to them in the original budget which seem to be a very difficult task—because of the price escalation and the government's commitment to provide 65,000 new jobs during this fiscal year.

There are reports that the Sindh government's negative balance with the State Bank of Pakistan [SBP] has exceeded the Rupees 3 billion mark—which is more than 12 times the Rupees 26 million maximum overdraft limit given to this province. The SBP is enforcing Prudential Regulations from July 1 and there is growing demand that the same discipline be enforced on the governments including that of Sindh.

The emerging scenario appears to be bleak in Sindh which has a huge workforce who take a total wage bill of about Rupees 6 billion a year. For those who are managing the departments and autonomous organisations, their work has become unenviable as they are bound to come under pressure from their superiors for showing austerity and from their staff for ensuring payment.

NWFP Budget Hurt by Debt Servicing

92AS1101A Karachi DAWN in English 27 May 92
pp I, IV

[Article by A.S. Yousufi: "Debt Servicing Takes Away One-Third of Total Resources"]

[Text] The most disturbing aspect of the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] budget for the next financial report is that the provincial debt servicing has risen from Rupees [RS.] 3,603.858 million in the current year to Rupees 4,127.894 million (or by Rupees 524.036 million)—with no apparent benefits to the people.

This fact was admitted by the provincial finance minister, Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan, who expressed grave concern over the trend in his budget speech. As he

brought it out on the floor of the House on May 21, 1992, almost 30 percent of total revenue receipts have been earmarked to meet this single liability. On the whole, expenditure on this account is only second to the provision for social services sector which is Rupees 5,741.386 million or about 40 percent of the current expenditure.

Whereas current receipts in FY 1992-93 have been estimated at Rupees 15,828.395 million, or Rupees 1,673.607 million more than the current fiscal, almost one-third of the increase has been diverted to meet the enhanced liability of debt servicing which in due course of time will become unmanageable, as in the case of the federal government, if no corrective measures are adopted right now. No such measure seems to have been considered by the budget-makers because none has been highlighted in the budget documents for the FY 1992-93.

There is likelihood of the amount on debt servicing registering even an increase at the end of the FY as has been the case during the current financial year when the liability rose from the originally estimated Rupees 3,603.858 million to Rupees 3,672.457 million (or by Rupees 68.599 million) which, surprisingly enough, could not be foreseen by the financial experts of the province at the beginning of the year. What the finance minister has done about it in his budget speech is mere lip service, failing to impose some sort of stringency on elected representatives, ministers and on both lower and higher categories of bureaucrats conveniently escaping the crunch.

The maximum the finance minister has been able to do was to transfer some of the financial burden to the people in the form of his Finance Bill proposing enhancement in levies, duties and fees without going for new taxes for obvious reasons. He apparently could not do this because Mr Sartaj Aziz had already spread the net after which no further expansion was possible or it will be political suicide.

Improvement in Tax Collection

At the first glance, the NWFP budget for 1992-93 appears a balanced document showing total revenue receipts of Rupees 15,828.395 million against estimates on account of revenue expenditure of Rupees 14,370.840 million leaving a surplus of Rupees 1,457.555 million—which has been diverted towards the provincial Annual Development Programme (ADP), thereby creating a balance between income and expenditure.

As the revised estimates for FY 1991-92 show there has been an appreciable increase of Rupees 60 million in tax returns from original Rupees 1,240.00 to Rupees 1,300.00 million which to some extent brings in focus the efficiency of the provincial tax collecting agencies. This is notwithstanding the meagre provincial contribution of 9.84 percent towards total current receipt of Rupees 15,828.395 million, most of which comes from NWFP's share in the federal taxes and profits on account of Hydro-electric power generated in the province. An effort has been made to fill the gap a little through

enhancing rates of existing duties and fees which will ensure an additional income of Rupees 200 million and an equal contribution expected from the federal government in the form of a matching grant. As to where this Rupees 400 million will be spent is neither shown in the white paper on the budget nor spelt out by the finance minister in his speech in the assembly.

However, this additional revenue is also expected to fill the coffers of the ADP which may face shortfall during the course of the year due to non-availability of the stated or expected foreign project assistance or part thereof scepticism about which has been voiced by the finance minister.

Presenting the Finance Bill proposing increases in some of the levies, Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan, harped on the same now redundant tune of "increasing our own revenue position substantially without affecting or straining the pocket of the common man" thus failed to appreciate that the common man, already overburdened economically, can hardly lift more of such weight. Besides, notwithstanding this lip service, increase in fees, taxes and duties such as professional tax, toll tax and token tax as well as increase in licence fees are going to be a direct burden on the common man.

One good thing about the budget speech of the finance minister is that he has frankly admitted the existence of the fiscal issues though no solutions have been proposed leaving the people in a flux. Obviously, it is not sufficient to say that the government is "committed to justice and equality" without doing some thing practical to eliminate such injustice and inequality.

Even though receipts are more than the expenditure showing a surplus diverted to development, the NWFP remains dangerously poised financially because of the financing of the ADP exclusively through federal or foreign assistance which is repayable.

Annual Development Programme

The ADP for 1992-93 envisages a meagre increase of Rupees 117.507 million over the current year's revised estimates. In real terms it leaves a gap of at least Rupees 529.00 million, taking a minimum of ten percent going rate of inflation which may touch even a higher figure keeping large scale deficit financing by the federal government in view.

The 1992-93 ADP provides for a total expenditure of Rupees 6,575.385 million as against revised estimates on this account of Rupees 6,457.878 million for the current fiscal year. This will be so if the figures presented by the NWFP finance minister are accepted as correct.

Interestingly, the increase in the ADP for the next FY does not compare favourably when the increased foreign project assistance of Rupees 1,255.385 million, as against of Rupees 671.496 million of the current fiscal, is taken into account. In this single case, the increase is of the volume of Rupees 583.889 million which, though a

long-term financial burden on the people of the province, is not reflected in the programme.

Yet another important factor is that whereas the provincial contribution from the revenue account was Rupees 1,307.819 million towards the current FY's ADP, it is shown to rise to Rupees 1,457.555 million—Rupees 149.736 million more—in the next financial year. This, too, is not reflected in development budget which, in real term, has been slashed.

Looking at the sector-wise allocations, these have been reduced in the case of agriculture, industries, social welfare, research and development and on miscellaneous accounts. Most drastic reduction has been effected in the Agriculture, industries and research sector while percentage-wise even more has been registered under the so-called "miscellaneous" head which might be a welcome measure because money spent under this particular head is generally believed money lost.

Sectors which have received major boost under the ADP are forestry, water & power, physical planning & housing, education & training, health and rural development. However, much depends on foreign project assistance if all goes well with it, though in his speech the finance minister was more speculative about it. In case of non-availability of this assistance, the ADP for FY 1992-93 would tumble to Rupees 5,320.00 million as compared to current year's estimates of Rupees 6,457.878 million and this, too, despite a minimum of ten percent inflation perceived during the year.

Beneficiaries

An important feature of the next years' ADP is that the Special Development Programme (SDP) which used to be funded by the federal government exclusively with no burden on the provincial finances, has been discarded and replaced by, what they call, the Provincial Initiative Programme—almost a misnomer. Whereas estimates on account of current FY's SDP were Rupees 1,624.831 million (revised estimates show a decreased expenditure of Rupees 1,053.066 million), the newly designed Provincial Initiative Programme apportions Rupees 922.419 million only including foreign project assistance of Rupees 142.419 million for research and development. There is every reason to presume that this programme will also be funded by the provincial government, the federally-funded SDP having been done away with effective from 1992-93 perhaps as a result of the NFC [National Finance Credit] Award and the like. One may term it a burden on the provincial resources. As pointed out by the finance minister in his speech, the federal investment in NWFP's development has been on the decline and he sought the support of the House to make Islamabad treat NWFP at par with other federating units. That is one reason he sought for launching a Sarhad Development Programme which is not likely to come through in view of financial stringency at the federal level.

Be it as it is, because it makes the people of NWFP know where they stand in financial matters and how best they could manage their budgetary income and expenditure which means developing among them—particularly among the elected representatives and bureaucrats of the province—a sense of responsibility as far as budget-making is concerned. However, the important thing is that the amount of loans should be reduced in order to curtail the debt burden and consequent debt servicing for a long time to come. Failing that, financial complications will arise and may become unmanageable. As a first step, the federal government must write off all loans and advances so far given to the province. The elected members are duty bound to exercise every pressure on Islamabad to accede to this suggestion forthwith.

What remains to be seen is that how the present government organises and implements the development programmes with least wastage of funds which has remained the most disturbing feature of all government spendings on this account.

Azad Kashmir Budget Reviewed, Attacked

92AS1242D Karachi DAWN in English 23 Jun 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Azad Kashmir Budget"]

[Text] The Azad Kashmir Finance Minister the other day presented a Rupees 4.67 billion budget for the fiscal 1992-93, showing a small increase over the previous year's estimates of Rupees 3.80 billion. An amount of Rupees 1.5 billion has been earmarked for development, while the allocation for non-development expenditure is of the order of Rupees 3.20 billion. This imbalance, reflected in last year's budget as well, should have been corrected if the development objectives of the budget are to be addressed properly. The AJK [Azad Jammu Kashmir] Finance Minister has disclosed that Rupees 730 million would be granted by the federal government in the distribution of taxes. The state government is still negotiating with the Centre for the royalties of Mangla Dam and the Kashmir property. But a redeeming feature of the budget is its concern for generation of revenue and the development of the territory's potential for tourism, forestry and animal husbandry. An amount of 52 million has been set aside for forestry, and as part of resource generation drive, the AJK government has decided to

take back the departments of excise and taxation and audit and accounts from the AJK council from the next fiscal year.

A separate department has been established for wildlife protection, tourism, archaeology and fish farming. The full development of this potential is essential if the major goals of the budget are to be achieved. The proposed changes in the quantum of existing taxes is meant to strengthen the Kashmir liberation struggle as well as to provide basic facilities of health and education for the people. Both these sectors have been given top priority and a three-year social action programme has been designed to achieve a breakthrough in these areas. The programme needs to be pursued with great vigour and efficiency if the lag of previous years is to be overcome and if the unsatisfactory rate of project execution in the past is to be compensated for. It is important to take the task very seriously, as the immediate impact of the liberation movement is being borne by Azad Kashmir. With the refugees pouring in from the occupied territory in an incessant flow, their health, accommodation and education needs can be met properly only if the social action programme is implemented properly.

The budget's thrust is also towards the development of industry and agriculture which have been allocated Rupees 25 and Rupees 24 million respectively. To accelerate industrial development, the government has withdrawn import duty on industrial machinery; all industries which start production before June 20, 1992, would be entitled to this benefit. Easy credits would be provided for development of poultry farming through cooperatives and other financial institutions. To meet the growing energy gap on an urgent basis, power development has been allocated Rupees 150 million for the next year, which, in view of Azad Kashmir's hydro potential, is quite inadequate. A sum of Rupees 260 million has been allocated for the communications sector. It is plain that no significant development, including expansion of tourism, is possible without proper roads and bridges. Often serious mishaps like falling of buses into the Jhelum river are reported from Azad Kashmir. These reflect sadly on AJK's infrastructure and act as a damper on growth of tourism and other fields of development. Potable water must also be given due priority in the rural development schemes neglected in the past. The government should develop tourism resorts at suitable places but much will depend on proper use of funds, strict monitoring of resources to check leakage and speedy execution of schemes.

Defense Minister Said To Approve Mirage-2000 Purchase*92AS1255C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 3 Jul 92 p 3*

[News Report: "Government Gave Green Light To Purchase Mirage-2000—Defense Minister"]

[Text] Rawalpindi (Correspondent)—Defense Minister Syed Ghaus Ali Shah, said that the Pakistani Government has given the green light to purchase Mirage-2000 airplanes. He said that he signed an agreement with the French Government during his recent trip to France. France will send a team to visit Pakistan soon to discuss payment plans for the airplanes and other related issues. He was answering questions at the Rawalpindi Press Club during the "Meet the Press" program. He said he had gone to France with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in January. At that time, they discussed minesweepers, Mirage-2000 airplanes, and submarines. Among the three minesweepers, one is to arrive soon. "We expressed a desire to purchase 40 Mirage planes. Our Air Force team also went to France and presented a report to us. Now a French team will visit Pakistan. I have written the agreement. The Mirage-2000 deal is being processed now. All that is left is to discuss various conditions of the sale. We have the option to change these, even at the last minute. We will purchase these airplanes as needed by

our government. We issued the certificate of our need. There will be some time to meet the restrictions included in the agreement." He did not agree with the opinion that these airplanes are expensive, and that Jordan has decided not to purchase the Mirage-2000 airplanes because of their cost. He said that he went to France with Air Chief Marshal Feroz Khan and has no doubt about his knowledge. Feroz Khan recommended purchasing these airplanes. In response to a question, he said that the F-16 airplanes have not been grounded. He told the press correspondent that the deal on the F-16 airplanes was suspended due to the Pressler Amendment. Political dialogue with the U.S. Government is still going on, and God willing, some way will be found. He further said, "We are not paying the installment for these airplanes in some grocery store; we are giving these to the American government!" He added that Pakistan will own a number of planes depending on the money already paid. The planes will be given to Pakistan as soon as the Pressler Amendment and NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] issues are taken care of. "We are paying installments regularly, according to the advice of our legal experts, and the conditions included in the agreement. God willing, we will have results. We have tried to remind the United States of our friendship, and hope it will fulfill its promise." He said that as an alternative, the purchase of Mirage airplanes was considered.

Government Announces Plan To Conduct National Census

92AS1243E Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, June 23—Federal minister for Finance and Economic Affairs, Sartaj Aziz on Tuesday, informed the Senate that the Government planned to conduct census before the end of the current year.

Replying to a question he said, no date had yet been fixed for carrying out the census in the country. Earlier the census in the province of Sindh had been postponed reportedly owing to gross irregularities and highly inflated figures given by the rival ethnic groups in the province.

However, the minister explained that the census had been postponed because examinations had been going on in the province and all the employees of provincial Education Department were busy.

"The census organisation, an attached department of Statistics Division, would carry out the census in collaboration with the provincial governments," he stated.

He assured the House that all possible steps would be taken to obtain correct and accurate figures about the population. Listing some of these steps, he said field staff would be given adequate training, supervisory tiers would be set up, proper maps of all rural and urban areas would be prepared and special vigilance teams would be constituted for verifying figures.

He said it was not a direct constitutional obligation of the Government to conduct census.

Earlier Senator Mir Abdul Jabbar said that it was imperative for the development of the country that exact figures about the population should be obtained.

Senator Aijaz Ali Jatoti refuted the claim of the Finance Minister that the census was postponed in Sindh owing to examinations in educational institutions of the province.

He said that for the first time, the female population of Sindh was being registered which, he added, caused the population of the province to jump dramatically and this, in turn, in his opinion, disturbed the Central government which ordered that census to be stopped.

Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that Balochs and Pakhtoons in Balochistan and Sindhis and Muhajirs in Sindh had been trying to inflate the figures of their respective populations in order to be able to increase their respective seats in the assembly and also stake claims for higher share in the national resources distributed on the basis of population.

He called upon the Government to take extra care in carrying out census in the country. It was a highly sensitive issue which could spell disaster for the country, he added.

Senator Abdullah Shah asked the minister whether any action was taken against those Government functionaries who were involved in gross irregularities in carrying out census in Sindh.

Universities Said Facing Severe Financial Crisis

92AS1243H Islamabad THE MUSLIM (Supplement) in English 3 Jul 92 pp 1

[Article by Absar Alam: "The QUA Quagmire"]

[Excerpt] To argue that the education sector is being treated as an orphan in our country seems to be a cliché. In this financial year, only Rs[rupees]3.11 billion of the total budget have been allocated for education. This meagre amount is to be spent not only on maintaining the existing educational system but able to increase the low literacy rate. How this would be possible, is better known to the bureaucrats who formulate the policies.

In sheer contrast to the government's high-pitched slogans of providing educational facilities to every citizen, the facts seem altogether different.

Educational institutions in Pakistan, from primary up to university level, can never be termed pleasant places to go. Circumstances there are discouraging for the young generation with the exception of those who have the privilege and prerogative to study in foreign affiliated schools and colleges and later fly abroad to get higher education.

The son or daughter of a common man in Pakistan kicks off his educational career by learning his lessons while sitting on a tattered rug with a hope that things will improve when he reaches the university. But things never improve.

In Pakistan, there are 22 universities and all these are going through a financial crisis, mainly due to the meagre allocation of funds by the government and partly due to the mismanagement and poor utilization of these funds.

Of these universities, the problems at Quaid-e-Azam University [QUA] seem particularly threatening. Being the only university of its kind at the federal capital, it needed more funds for it to become an exemplary educational centre, but things went vice versa. From the very beginning, QAU had to rival the older universities in getting funds from the government.

The other universities in Pakistan have been allowed to raise funds through different means, e.g., donations from philanthropists, industrialists and through external students. Moreover, all the other universities are situated in provinces where, at times, the provincial governments come to the rescue.

In contrast, the OAU has had to depend entirely on the federal government's resources. To add to its difficulties, the university is situated in 'bureaucratic' Islamabad, where there is no big industry around that could collaborate in raising funds as is done in Karachi at the

Institute of Business Administration and in Lahore at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS).

The financial crisis in the OAU is so crucial that one can safely say, it is on the verge of breakdown. The total income of the university in 1991-92 is Rs 61.441 million whereas according to the university budget, the expenditure will be Rs 72.432 million out of which Rs 54.176 million will go on the pay and allowances of the staff of the university. The remaining amount (if one can call it an amount) is supposed to be spent on improving the 'standard' of all the departments; the library, the purchase of new books, periodicals and journals, for the betterment of hostels, to strengthen the medical unit, to provide sports and transport facilities and so on. One wonders how the administration will overcome the deficit and meet the expenses. [passage omitted]

Bhutto Cites Government Negligence in Prosecuting Rapists

92AS1117B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
12 Jun 92 p 4

[Text] Karachi, June 11: Co-Chairperson Pakistan People's Party and Leader of the Opposition in National Assembly Ms. Benazir Bhutto has said that recent rise in the gang-rape cases is a clear proof that the present regime has utterly failed in maintaining law and order in the country.

She strongly condemned the recent gang-rape incident of Budla Sant, Multan in which a young girl of 14-year was allegedly assaulted by a group of persons the other day.

Ms. Bhutto said the rate of crime in the country had assumed an alarming proportion and more than half a dozen gang-rapes, took place only last week. This, she said had completely exposed the tall claim of the government that it had succeeded in improving the law and order situation.

Such heinous crimes speak of the government's incompetence and the degradation of the society, the leader of the Opposition remarked.

She said "had the government taken deterrent action against the culprits who indulged in similar inhuman act with a lady of Multan Allah Wasai some time back the recent gang-rape incident of the 14-year-old girl would not have occurred," she said.

She demanded of the government to immediately arrest the culprits of the gang-rape incident and give them exemplary punishment besides taking measures for the protection of women.

Government Criticized for Harassment of Journalists

92AS1117C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
15 Jun 92 p 6

[Article by Syed Fahd Husain: "Press Bashing: Will the Pen Prevail"]

[Text] "The government is contemplating the issuance of press advice on news items related to the Sindh operation, it has been reliably learnt."

So said a news item appearing in a section of the press on Tuesday, June 9. It goes on to say that "the government feels that a certain section of the press is behaving in a manner to malign the forces managing the whole operation."

This strikes at the heart of the notion of the freedom of the press. It is no secret that the present government has had the worst track record as far as relations with the press are concerned. From the Prime Minister down to the most unimportant of ministers, everyone has been sermonising about the role that the press should play, without deeming it fit to scrutinize their own deeds.

Accepted that Pakistan is an immature democracy and the rulers have yet to develop the gall to face criticism. The sorry part is that no effort is being made to learn, to grow and to accept that democracy is not confined to mere casting of votes.

"Blackmailers," "rumour-mongers," and "sensationalists," are some of the commonly used terms to describe newsmen. While these may be true for some in the profession, it is utterly ridiculous to brand the whole institution as such. Can we call the entire Armed Forces as cowards because of the shameful surrender of 1971?

The press-government relationship has a long way to go before it can be termed healthy and mutually independent. But that is natural. Both the government and the press are beset with deficiencies which breed suspicion and undermine confidence. But whereas the press has made leaps and bounds to improve its standards and emerge as a powerful fourth estate, the government has slid backwards by being intolerant and employing strong-arm tactics to brow-beat journalists into submission.

Statements against the press telling it to "behave" have become sickeningly repetitive. Threats and attacks on newspapers are on the increase, many allegedly with government backing. In Karachi, political bedfellows of the rulers have been involved in harassment and physical abuse of journalists. They have not been checked which amounts to giving them a green signal to go ahead. In interior Sindh, journalists have been picked up by the police and often tortured without any specific charge. And the government remains silent.

All this mostly stems from the fact that the government lacks confidence. Rather than lead through action, it prefers to do so through sloganeering. It fears that the press is out to destroy its credibility (howsoever much it

enjoys). It requires state-controlled electronic media to project its "true" image. The blatant propaganda that emanates from radio and TV does the government more harm than good, but it is too afraid to have it otherwise.

Time and again, the press is condescendingly instructed to work for the "greater national interest." What is this "national interest" and who defines it? How come revealing the wrong-doings and excesses of the rulers is against this so-called national interests? And whom are they trying to fool?

"Press Advice" has no place in a democratic and free society. The very word "advice" is a cruel joke with the press because Press Advice is anything but advice. It is an insult to the whole institution and the ideals on which it stands for. And so is the Ministry of Information. It serves no useful purpose other than wasting tax payers money and creating undue and totally unnecessary hurdles between the government and the media.

The Press for its part, cannot be absolved of all responsibility. It too has a lot of room for improvement and has to do its share of work to improve its tarnished image. The biggest hurdle it faces is the massive illiteracy in Pakistan. It cannot mould and influence public opinion when only less than 30 per cent of the population can understand its message. But this factor is not in its control.

The quality of our newspapers remains low. Dearth of material forces them to print items which should have no place in a respectable publication. Meaningless statements of half-baked politicians and self-proclaimed VIPs make a mockery of real journalism. Press releases of route activities of ministers and other government officials are sent religiously by the Press Information Department (PID) and the Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) and these are obediently printed by our newspapers.

To top it all, we have two news agencies, APP and PPI which are directly or indirectly controlled by the government. In most cases their stories are not worth the paper they are written on. But they remain the major source of (local) news.

The only worthwhile items are stories of reporters and correspondents. But here too there is an acute lack of investigative reporting which is an essential part of journalism. There is no dearth of news, only a shortage of people who can smell it, find it and present it in a proper manner. This remains a tremendous handicap for the press in Pakistan.

The fact that government advertisements remain the major source of revenue for newspapers, automatically put them at the mercy of the rulers. The gravity of this problem has been greatly underplayed. This is a permanent noose around the neck of the press which the government tightens and loosens at will.

Why is this so? Because the private sector in Pakistan is so underdeveloped. Because enough industries, organisations, firms, and other private establishments are not there to support newspapers with their advertisements. As long as the press remains hostage to government revenue, it can never be truly free. How long will it take? Long enough if the government has its way.

Journalist Calls For Private Radio, Television

92AS1243A Karachi DAWN in English 23-24 Jun 92

[Article by Javed Jabbar: "Democratising the Media"]

[23 Jun p 11]

[Text] The state control of radio and TV in Pakistan contradicts and subverts democracy. It denies the people an optimum range of news and opinions; indeed, it often spreads outright falsehoods and perpetrates disinformation as in the recent instances of Tando Bahawal and the AZO [Al-Zulfikar Organization] encounter on the high seas.

The opposition is deprived of its fundamental right of access to state-owned media. Token indirect coverage given to the opposition during parliamentary sessions is miniscule as well as misleading because it regularly omits significant points made by non-government members.

Though this issue deserves the highest political priority, going beyond castigation to constructive proposals for a new electronic media system in Pakistan, the subject does not receive adequate in-depth attention by political leaders.

Further, neither through existing constitutional provisions and legislative cover nor in the scope of Press and public comment is the institutional aspect of radio and TV given the analysis it deserves.

The Constitution of Pakistan, in Article 159, deals with "broadcasting and telecasting" but confines itself to aspects of transmission and telecast arrangements in the context of relations between the federation and provinces. This article of the constitution does not (Cinematography) Ordinance 1979 respectively, the electronic media do not have special legislation to describe their individual sectoral functions and to define future directions of growth. [sentence as published]

The PTV [Pakistan Television] was established as just another amplify—as it should—the substance of the fundamental right to freedom of speech as expressed in Article 19 which also refers to "freedom of the Press" but which does not refer to "freedom of expression on radio & TV" in a country where both of these media reach many more citizens than does the Press.

Whereas the Press and the cinema are regulated by specific legislative instruments, i.e., the Registration of Printing Presses & Publications Ordinance, 1988 and the Motion Picture public sector corporation in 1967 as was

Shalimar Recording Co. Ltd, in 1974, the parent company of the channel originally known as PTN, now re-designated as STN.

While radio does have a legislative reference under the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation [PBC] Act of 1973, the Act confines itself to the functions of Radio Pakistan. It does not provide a definitive prescription for radio as a mass medium as distinct from the charter for a corporation.

Public comment about radio and TV is preoccupied by three subjects; occasional ridicule of the excessive government propaganda in the news bulletins, favourable or negative comment about TV plays and radio drama, and aspects of how the two media cover major sports events. Except for infrequent references in the news columns, analytical comment about radio and TV is restricted to the periodic "review" columns that deal more with the day-to-day output of the two media than with structural issues.

So continuous and well-entrenched is the state control over radio and TV that its condition has come to be virtually accepted as a *fait accompli*, an inevitable and unchangeable part of our country's reality. This acceptance is a symptom of a dangerous apathy that will be lethal if allowed to become permanent.

A revealing sign of how zealously the governments guard the treasure which radio and TV represents is that whereas the present government is keen to privatise every major public sector enterprise, there is not a hint about privatising PTV or PBC. The monopolistic contract given by PTN/STN to NTM is not authentic privatisation because the ownership of the STN channel as reflected in the ownership of Shalimar Recording Co. is unchanged from the 1970's as the government retains over 50 per cent of equity and exercises 100 per cent control, particularly by reproducing PTV news bulletins on STN.

The invidious nature of the control exercised by the successive governments through the state structure over the electronic media is directly a part of the injustice that afflicts our society. Just as we have a duty to fight an unceasing struggle against the inequities of our system, so too do we have an obligation to oppose the usurpation of radio and TV by coteries of leaders and parties.

Electronic media are of tremendous value to our country. Whereas the combined circulation of newspapers and magazines still does not exceed 1 million copies and total readership is below 10 million in a population approaching 120 million, radio has the capacity to cover over 100 million while TV reaches about 25 million people, with both these audiences growing faster than the print media-reading segment.

Over the years, the government control aspect has had a devastating effect on gifted professionals in radio and TV in general and on news and current affairs specialists in particular. The potentially outstanding electronic

media journalists have turned into demoralised denizens, mutely dealing in the exaggerations, distortions and omissions they are directed to manage by each changing government. Some of them have become so adept at the job through sheer practice that they no longer need specific directions: they know exactly what to "report" well before any directions are received.

Unlike those in the official print media who can always find more freedom in the independent Press, the journalists of electronic media have no alternative opportunities for employment, being condemned to operate within the suffocating walls of the propaganda set-up.

While the government control has helped bring media facilities to some under-developed areas, in over-all terms, domination of these media by the government also retards and confuses their development. It also dilutes the positive work done by PBC and PTV over the past 25 years. Defective official policies have led to Radio Pakistan becoming over-staffed and under-resourced; it requires an annual subsidy of about Rupees 25 crores to remain functional.

Although Pakistan Television has, until recently, made regular, sizable profits, but this was possible more due to its monopolistic position than management efficiency. In its concluding months in office, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government had shown haste in opening up the 24-hour PTN channel in Islamabad without appropriate consideration of programming complementarities and production resources. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Government unwittingly continued the same policy in Karachi and Lahore with its major original contribution being to change the word "People" with "Shalimar."

As a result, with 8 hours of CNN and many additional hours of mostly second-rate American material, the ratio of locally produced programmes to foreign programmes has actually declined in 1991 and 1992 instead of maintaining, at least, the levels achieved in the past. Similar haste and sloppiness by the government is also visible while planning a strategy for a new so-called "educational TV" channel now re-titled as PTV2 which will largely be a wasteful duplication of PTV, because essential questions on its concept have been swept under the carpet.

The "educational TV" has already begun test transmission on the Asiasat Satellite system and will presumably soon start "educating" millions of people throughout Asia while millions in Pakistan try to figure out the alleged difference between PTV1 and PTV2.

The private control of radio and TV has its own share of hazards and potential misuse. But on balance, and on the basis of experience, it is preferable to government control. The ideal form of control would be a combination of private sector initiative and the government representation to strive for quality and credibility while securing the broad public interest.

[24 Jun p 11]

[Text] Political and public neglect of the structural issues of electronic media certainly suits the governments because they treat radio and TV as their private property, to be used exclusively for self-projection. Candid and comprehensive public discussion about the structure, charters, powers and functions of radio and TV would expose the cruel stranglehold that the governments use to pulverise these media for narrow political purposes.

The claim made recently by the Federal Minister of Information & Broadcasting that PTV and PBC are completely autonomous corporations with their own independent policies and that the government does not interfere in their news and programme policies typifies the hypocrisy with which the governments deal with these media and reveals the low esteem in which they hold the people who are presumed to be willing to believe in such a claim.

The fact that the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Pakistan Television Corporation and Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation is almost always the Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Information and Broadcasting shows how the government maintains a strong grip over both media. In turn, the post of the Secretary is filled by a bureaucrat or an individual who represents the political—and partisan—interests of the head of government: it is one of the appointments that receives more than a normal share of very special attention on a political level. In addition to controlling the appointment of the Chairman of PTV, PBC and Shalimar Recording Co. Ltd, and directors of the media corporations, the government uses a number of other ways to exercise direct control of radio and TV.

While the government policies and levels of public activism about controls of radio and TV remain frozen in the moulds of the 1960's, the two media world-wide have gone through substantive technological advancement and major variations in modes of operation.

In the case of radio, change includes the increased use of FM broadcasting to cater to special tastes in music as well as a community-based approach that enables dynamic interaction between listeners and transmission services. There has also been a phenomenal growth in privately-owned radio stations, whether in North America or in the Philippines and Indonesia with small, compact broadcasting units established at low cost, creating new opportunities for expression and exchange.

Television has achieved an instant global accessibility by satellite first pioneered by radio. In our part of the world, with the launch of the Asiasat satellite from China in 1990, new networks like Star TV are now bringing into millions of homes in East, South East, South and West Asia a growing choice of channels, from a 24-hour BBC Asia Service to a 24-hour Music TV Service, from glimpses of Burmese TV to drama series in the Chinese language.

In contrast to the rapid structural changes on an international level in electronic media, the structure and style of Pakistan's arrangements to manage radio and TV remain rigid and monolithic and have indeed now become obsolete and irrelevant.

There is an immediate need for the formation, through a specific legislation, of a national electronic media authority (NEMA) that would enable the control mechanisms and the content of radio and TV in Pakistan to reflect the width and depth of contemporary and future change and which would help these media to truly serve the people, instead of the ruling groups.

The creation of NEMA would bring a number of benefits to both people and the government. Instead of attempting an overnight radical rupture in the relationship between the media corporations and the government, NEMA could begin a graded process of "de-governmentising" the control of radio and TV by becoming the interlocutor between the Ministry of Information & PTV, STN and PBC. By having a board of governors comprising of individuals with an acknowledged reputation for integrity, creative achievement, management or leadership ability, etc., who are nominated by the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chairman of the Senate and the Speaker of the National Assembly, NEMA could make the electronic media more equitably accountable to all 3 pillars of the state, i.e., the Legislative, the Judiciary and the Executive rather than be the hand-maidens of the Executive alone.

A statutory body such as NEMA could define and oversee the implementation of specific individual charters for each mass medium and for each channel, prescribing principles of programming policy to ensure genuine competition so as to provide a real choice in material about Pakistan to citizens.

Where contracts for programming for radio and TV channels are to be awarded to the private sector, NEMA would prepare criteria for prequalification of contractors. This would ensure, for example, that merely the highest bidder need not necessarily be the winner because media programming has to reflect, and crystallize, sensitive social and cultural dimensions that cannot be placed at the mercy of money alone.

An important function of NEMA would be to evaluate the actual performance of each corporation and each channel during a given time-frame in order to make renewal of the charter dependent upon past performance.

After a study of how such bodies operate in the U.K. and elsewhere, a frame of reference for NEMA relevant to conditions in Pakistan could be prepared and applied.

The most critical contribution that NEMA would make is to enable electronic media in our country to function in consonance with the principles and demands of democracy because radio and TV continue to magnify the monologue of the ruling party, a monotone more

suited to a dictatorship than to the multi-party parliamentary system in which we live.

Journalist Calls For End to Detentions Without Trials

92AS1206D Islamabad THE MUSLIM (Supplement)
in English 26 Jun 92 p 1

[Article by Mir Abdul Aziz: "Detention Without Trial Should Be Done Away With"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Imprisonment of individuals by the society for infringement of laws and rules is an international phenomenon. It is as old as the civilisation of the human species itself. It is in the nature of man to err and to violate norms and laws.

Inmates of jails can be divided into three broad categories. First are the under trials, i.e., those who are arrested by the police and challenged in a court of law, after registering an FIR [First Information Report], or the first information report. When the case is in the process of investigation by the prosecution, whether the case is viable and can be proved in a court of law or not the accused is kept in jail. The under trials are herded ... together in barracks or rooms, whichever place is available. The rooms and the barracks are often overcrowded, unhygienic and without proper toilet arrangements.

If the purpose of sending individuals to jail is their reform, well, that is defeated at the very outset by herding together the accused of various offences together. While they are together, they tell each other what brought them into jail.

Even those who are innocent, learn of the various offences and crimes from those who are huddled with them in prison. This is thus the greatest disservice to society. It is tantamount to training young and old under trials in offences which they never have heard of or even dreamt of before being sent to prison as accused or suspects in this or that case.

It was only last week that the daily JANG, Rawalpindi, reported that a boy of 11 years had spent six precious years of his life in jail for nothing. When he was five years old, he approached a policeman for some assistance, but instead he was sent to jail, where he remained for six long years.

It was with through the efforts of a Prisoners Welfare Society that the boy was released. When he went to Islamabad, he recognised his house and went into it. He met his father, who was happy to see the boy, but he informed the boy that he had divorced his mother and she too had married another man. Then the boy left in search of his mother.

This is not the first case in which an innocent person has been sent to jail. As it appears from the news item, the boy had not been convicted in any offence, but such is

the management of the jails that the innocent have to pass their days in misery and often it is luck that brings them out.

Some children are born in jails, who have under trial or convicted mothers.

Lives of the under trials as well as convicted prisoners are supposed to be guided and directed by the "Jail Manual," but like most other official documents, it is available in English: By the word "available," I do not mean that it is available to the prisoners. Far from that. There is hardly one copy in the entire jail and it is kept as a closely guarded document. In any case, most of the convicted prisoners and under-trials being illiterate, cannot read it.

The result is that most of the under trials do not know what their rights are as inmates of the jail. From the very beginning, i.e., from the time they are brought and put into police lock up (havalat) and then in the jail premises, they are given the impression that they are the most despised, hated and dangerous members of society. They are not supposed to command any self-respect. In most cases, foul language is used against them.

The food which they are given, the accommodation which they are provided, is far below the standard provided for them in the jail manual and other related rules and regulations.

Not all those who are put in judicial lock ups have relations and friends who can engage lawyers for them and try to get them released on bail, if the case is bailable. There are a great number of them who pass their days at the mercy of the prosecution.

Unless there is something very extraordinary about a person who is in the judicial lock up as an under trial, everybody is treated as "C" class in the matter of food, accommodation and other facilities. This means that he is given food which can just keep him alive and that is all.

Friends and relations of such accused now and then arrange to send meats and necessities of life to such detainees in the jail. But a good portion of it is pilfered by those through whom it is sent. There are cases when these things hardly reach the person concerned, and when these reach the destination, half or a major portion of these is missing.

Only when a case is decided and a person is convicted, is the "class" which he or she deserves, mentioned by the court in the judgment. Sometimes it takes years for a case to be decided by the court.

The powers that be, at the provincial and central level, have assumed powers which authorise them to detain individuals for specific periods of time without trial. In the provinces, these powers are enjoyed by the governments under the Safety Act and in the Centre under the Security of Pakistan Act.

During the Ayub regime, a detainee under the Security of Pakistan Act could be detained for one year without trial under orders of the Ministry of Interior. He was to be produced before a Board which could consider his reply to the charges which were given to him about his grounds of detention some weeks after his internment.

But it happened so during the Ayub regime that protection under martial law came under the Security of Pakistan Act. That is to say, any action taken under the Security of Pakistan Act, by the Government of Pakistan, could not be challenged in any court of Law, apparently even the Supreme Court of Pakistan or the High Court of the province. The result was that no security detainee could approach the High Court or the Supreme Court for legal action which could result in his or her release.

The detention of persons under the Safety and Security laws are governed by the rules framed by the authorities simultaneously with the Law. But, like the jail manual, these are never made available to the detainees. This is because neither those bureaucrats who pass the orders of detention, nor the custodians, i.e., that jail authorities, want the detainees to know what their rights are and privileges as detainees.

Unless a detainee is a man of fame and influence, he has to pass his days and nights in the jail in a miserable condition.

In addition to men and women charged and convicted under criminal law, and the safety and security laws, there are those who are sent to jail under the Civil code offences. They are a class by themselves. In such cases the plaintiffs have to bear the costs of the internees. This case is not so serious as the case of those unfortunate members of the society who have, rightly or wrongly been convicted of offences under the Criminal Procedure Code or detained without trial in a court of law.

Detention without trial is not in consonance with the spirit of Islamic justice. Since we consider ourselves an Islamic state, there is no justification for continuing with the laws which allow the establishment to detain any person without trial and without proving in what manner he or she has offended the society.

The guilt must be proved in a court of law and unless and until that is proved, every person should be considered an honourable member of the society. The preventive detention laws should be done away with.

When one of our former Prime Ministers, H.S. Suhrawardy, was released after his detention under the Security of Pakistan Act, I wrote a letter to him congratulating him on his release and at the same time asking him if he now realised that the Security of Pakistan Act was a bad law. I also reminded him that when he was Prime Minister of Pakistan, he had also given one year's extension of the Security Act. He replied my letter and informed me that he had now realised that the Security Act was a bad law but scrapping of this law only was not enough and that the entire system needed to be overhauled.

Much water has flown down the rivers of Pakistan since then and people have become more freedom-conscious. It is time that all laws which allow detention without trial should be scrapped.

And till that is done, anybody and everybody taken into custody under these laws, should also be told what rights and privileges he is supposed to enjoy while in detention. The copy of the detention rules, along with a translation in the language he or she knows, should be given to him along with the "charge sheet."

In a similar manner, a copy of the jail manual and other rules that govern the under-trial and the convict, along with a translation of the same in the language which he or she knows, should be given to him or her at the time of arrest.

A Jail commission may be appointed to look into the details of the condition of those unfortunate members of our society who are forced by circumstances to pass their days and nights behind the high walls of the prisons. Newspapers, radio sets and also TV sets may be provided in the jails so that the inmates are aware of what is happening in the country and in the world.

Conditions may thus be created to ensure that these members of our society are not given up as "lost" forever. We should try to reform them and not lead them into further degradation and ruin.

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